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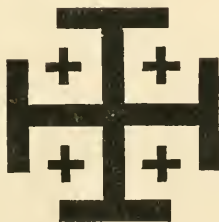
PALESTINE EXPLORATION FUND.

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Quarterly Statement

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THE
PALESTINE EXPLORATION FUND.

NOTES AND NEWS.

Died

ON THE 23RD DECEMBER, 1902,

HIS GRACE THE ARCHBISHOP OF CANTERBURY

(DR. TEMPLE),

President of the Society.

THE sad intelligence here recorded has arrived as this number of the *Quarterly Statement* passes through the Press. The Committee can but express their sorrow for the loss of a President who was loved and honoured by all men.

The Committee, whilst gratefully acknowledging the generous support that the work of the Fund has received from the subscribers, desire to make a special appeal to them in favour of the excavations which are now being carried out by Mr. Macalister on the site of the old Levitical city of Gezer. The remarkable results that have been obtained show that the importance attached by students of the Bible to a complete examination of this ancient city was no idle fancy, and that discoveries of equal, if not of greater, value may be expected when the remaining portions of the mound are opened.

It is only necessary here to refer to the unique discovery of an untouched pre-Israelite tomb, containing the cremated remains of a primitive race of small stature, and the buried remains, with associated burial deposits of an early Semitic race, possibly Amorite ;

to the discovery, also unique, of an ancient Canaanite temple, with the remains of the first-born sacrificed to the god of the "high place" of Gezer; to the strong indications that the "high place," though apparently covered up before Josiah "began to purge Judah," retained its sacred character for several centuries after the capture of the city by Joshua; and to the lurid light that has been thrown upon those barbarous sacrifices and idolatrous practices, which the Hebrew prophets denounced with all their vigour and in the strongest language (*see* Jer. vii, 31; xix, 5, &c.).

Amongst the enormous number of small finds may be noted the foundation deposits, that only occur beneath or beside houses built between the Conquest and the Captivity, which are believed by Mr. Macalister to be memorials of the time when the wandering Israelites pitched their tents amidst the sands and gravels of the desert; Egyptian inscriptions; bronze implements of a finish and beauty hitherto unknown in Palestine excavations; and a series of "graven images, and molten images," in stone, bone, and bronze, which range from the first rude attempts to represent human and animal forms to the more artistic works of a comparatively recent age.

The firman under which the excavations are being conducted will expire in the spring of 1905, and the complete examination of Gezer before its expiration will require an expenditure which the Fund, with its present income, is unable to meet. The amount now spent upon the excavations is £1,200 a year, and Mr. Macalister estimates that he will require at least £1,500 a year during the next two and a half years. The Committee trust that the supporters of the Fund will not allow excavations, which have already yielded such important results, to stop short of complete success from want of funds. They would suggest that every one interested in the work should endeavour to obtain additional subscribers, and would appeal to those who are in a position to do so to make special donations, or to increase their subscriptions for the next two years.

Palestine, once considered so poor in archaeological treasures, has recently become the scene of great archaeological activity. This new departure in Palestine exploration is due, in no slight measure, to the initiative of the German Emperor who, it is said, is bearing the cost of the extensive excavations which are being

carried out under the supreme direction of Professor Puchstein, at Ba'albek, of the excavations at Nihâ, north of Zahlch, in the Lebanon, and of the tentative excavations which have been made at Palmyra, Jerash, Ammân, and other centres of Roman influence in Eastern Palestine.

Under the auspices of the Emperor, the German Society for the Exploration of Palestine are excavating at Tell Mutsellim (Megiddo ?) ; and a large building has been erected, on the Imperial camping ground north of Jerusalem, for the German Archaeological Institute for the Exploration of Palestine, of which Professor Dalman has been appointed the first president.

Professor Torrey, the first director of the American School of Oriental Research, has excavated at Sidon. The Austrians are excavating the site of Taanach, "by the waters of Megiddo," where Professor Sellin has made important discoveries. A Russian expedition has been working at Palmyra, and has secured for the Imperial Museum at the Hermitage the celebrated customs tariff of the time of Hadrian in Palmyrene and Greek. And Maeridy Bey has been excavating the temple of Eshmun, erected by a grandson of Eshmunazar in the vicinity of Sidon, for the Imperial Ottoman Museum at Constantinople, which will be greatly enriched by his discoveries.

Mr. Macalister's reports show that the work of the Fund is in safe hands, and that the first Society formed for the systematic exploration of Palestine only needs financial support to enable it to hold its own with the friendly rivals that have happily decided to take an active part in the archaeological exploration of the Holy Land.

The long-expected *facsimile* of the celebrated mosaic map of Palestine that was found some years ago at Medeba, has at last been completed at the cost of the German Society for the Exploration of Palestine, and is now in the hands of the publishers.

The Rev. A. Forder, who is well known to travellers east of Jordan, has recently published an account of some of his missionary journeys "with the Arabs in Tent and Town," which contains interesting information respecting the Arabs of Moab and the Syrian desert.

A small sailing boat now makes weekly voyages, with more or less regularity, from the salt station at the north end of the Dead Sea to the Kerak region.

During the summer a small mosque, with a handsome minaret, which is visible from a long distance, has been built close to the new Russian buildings at Jericho.

The heat at Jerusalem during the six days—September 16th–21st—appears to have been unusual, the thermometer ranging from a night temperature of 73° to a day temperature of $100\cdot5^{\circ}$. The heat-wave was accompanied by a very light air from the S.E.

The attention of subscribers is called to a work by Sir Charles Warren, entitled “The Ancient Cubit and our Weights and Measures.” He brings evidence to show that all weights and measures (except those of the metrical system) are derived from one source—the double-cubit cubed of Babylonia.

The Museum and Library of the Palestine Exploration Fund at Jerusalem have been removed from the room opposite to the Tower of David to the Bishop’s Buildings, near the Tombs of the Kings, where the use of a room has been kindly permitted by the Rev. Dr. Blyth, Bishop in Jerusalem and the East. The Museum is open daily, except Sundays, and the Honorary Secretary, Dr. D’Erf Wheeler, will give all information necessary.

The “Flora of Syria, Palestine, and Sinai,” by the Rev. George E. Post, M.D., Beirût, Syria, containing descriptions of all the Phaenogams and Aerogens of the region, and illustrated by 441 woodcuts, may be had at the office of the Fund, price 21s.

In order to make up complete sets of the “Quarterly Statement,” the Committee will be very glad to receive any of the back numbers.

The income of the Society from September 23rd to December 22nd, 1902, was—from Annual Subscriptions and Donations, including Local Societies, £632 8s. 4d.; from Lectures, £5; from

sales of publications, &c., £189 4s. 5d.; total £826 12s. 9d. The expenditure during the same period was £665 10s. 3d. On December 22nd the balance in the Bank was £440 6s. 2d.

Subscribers to the Fund are reminded that, whilst the receipt of every subscription and contribution is promptly acknowledged by the acting secretary, the list of subscriptions will henceforward be published annually and not quarterly. A complete list of subscribers and subscriptions for 1902 will be published in due course in a separate form.

Subscribers in U.S.A. to the work of the Fund will please note that they can procure copies of any of the publications from the Rev. Professor Theo. F. Wright, Honorary General Secretary to the Fund, 42 Quincy Street, Cambridge, Mass.

The Committee will be glad to communicate with ladies and gentlemen willing to help the Fund as Honorary Secretaries.

The price of a complete set of the translations published by the Palestine Pilgrims' Text Society, in 13 volumes, with general index, bound in cloth, is £10 10s. A catalogue describing the contents of each volume can be had on application to the Secretary, 38 Conduit Street.

The Museum at the office of the Fund, 38 Conduit Street (a few doors from Bond Street), is open to visitors every week-day from 10 o'clock till 5, except Saturdays, when it is closed at 2 p.m.

It may be well to mention that plans and photographs alluded to in the reports from Jerusalem and elsewhere cannot all be published, but all are preserved in the office of the Fund, where they may be seen by subscribers.

Photographs of the late Dr. Schick's models (1) of the Temple of Solomon, (2) of the Herodian Temple, (3) of the Haram Area during the Christian occupation of Jerusalem, and (4) of the Haram Area as it is at present, have been received at the office of the Fund. Sets of these four photographs, with an explanation by Dr. Schick, can be purchased by applying to the Secretary, 38 Conduit Street, W.

Branch Associations of the Bible Society, all Sunday Schools within the Sunday School Institute, the Sunday School Union, and the Wesleyan Sunday School Institute, will please observe that by a special Resolution of the Committee they will henceforth be treated as subscribers and be allowed to purchase the books and maps (by application only to the Secretary) at reduced price.

The Committee will be glad to receive donations of Books to the Library of the Fund, which already contains many works of great value relating to Palestine and other Bible Lands. A catalogue of Books in the Library will be found in the July *Quarterly Statement*, 1893.

The Committee acknowledge with thanks the following :—

“Recueil d'Archéologie Orientale.” Tome V, Livraisons 12–17. From the Author, Professor Clermont-Ganneau, M.I.

“Le Lac de Tibériade.” From the Author, Professor Lucien Gautier.

“Al-Mashrik : Revue Catholique Orientale Bimensuelle.”

For list of authorised lecturers and their subjects, write to the Secretary.

FORM OF BEQUEST TO THE PALESTINE EXPLORATION FUND.

I give to the Palestine Exploration Fund, London, the sum of _____ to be applied towards the General Work of the Fund; and I direct that the said sum be paid, free of Legacy Duty, and that the Receipt of the Treasurer of the Palestine Exploration Fund shall be a sufficient discharge to my Executors.

Signature _____

Witnesses { _____

NOTE.—*Three Witnesses are necessary in the United States of America;
 Two suffice in Great Britain.*

Whilst desiring to give publicity to proposed identifications and other theories advanced by officers of the Fund and contributors to the pages of the *Quarterly Statement*, the Committee wish it to be distinctly understood that by publishing them in the *Quarterly Statement* they neither sanction nor adopt them.

SECOND QUARTERLY REPORT ON THE EXCAVATION OF GEZER.

(August 14th to November 1st, 1902.)

By R. A. STEWART MACALISTER, M.A., F.S.A.

§ I.—GENERAL SUMMARY OF THE RESULTS OF THE QUARTER'S WORK.

IN the quarter covered by the present report I have departed temporarily from the method of work which, in my previous report, I stated that I intended to follow. After devoting some thought to the matter, I concluded that, though there seems to be no reason to anticipate hindrance to the excavation from any cause, it would be unwise to run the risk of being obliged to leave the mound without having followed up a certain important surface indication. This was the two pillar-stones at the foot of the Western Hill, to which allusion has more than once been made (*Quarterly Statement*, 1902, p. 363).

Having tested the soil in the neighbourhood of the stones by a trial shaft, I decided that I was justified in abandoning for a while the series of trenches by which I had been proceeding step by step along the mound, and in turning the whole force of labourers on the task of working out the structure of which these stones form a part. This work is still in progress: when it is finished I shall return to the trenches on the Eastern Hill, with the satisfaction of knowing that much of the Central Valley will have been turned over.

The principal discoveries of the quarter have been (1) a remarkably interesting burial-cave, in some important details supplementing the information, gleaned from the first cave, on the subject of pre-Israelite funeral customs; (2) further light on the stratification of the mound; (3) two stelæ, with inscriptions in hieroglyphics; (4) a series of very ancient troglodyte dwellings; (5) a remarkable Canaanite temple; and (6) a large number of objects in stone, bronze, pottery, &c., scarabs, and other antiquities.

§ II.—STRATIFICATION OF THE MOUND.

The remains on the Eastern Hill were described in my first report as displaying the stratified buildings of four successive occupations—a description the accuracy of which has been confirmed by the further excavations on this part of the mound. It was further stated that nothing that could be associated definitely with the Solomonic or the Maccabaeian period of culture was to be found on the Eastern Hill, and that the remains of the occupations known from historical sources to have existed at Gezer during those periods must be sought for in some other part of the tell. This has been verified by the excavation in the Central Valley.

The latter excavation has extended the history of the mound both forward and backward, one period being found preceding, and two succeeding, the four represented on the Eastern Hill. There are thus seven strata of remains at present known. These may be described as follows, proceeding downwards from surface to rock:—

Stratum VII.—A city resembling, but on the whole probably slightly earlier than, the upper stratum at Tell Sandahannah. The principle of the arch has been learnt, as is shown by a ruined vaulted cistern (like a similar structure found at Tell Zakariya, of about the same period). This structure is built of the squared brick-like blocks of light limestone, such as was found in some parts of the acropolis of Tell Zakariya, and was the universal building material at Tell Sandahannah. The pottery is similar to that at Sandahannah, if anything slightly ruder, and with less extensive evidence of direct Greek influence. Iron is the regular metal; bronze is used for ornaments only, and is uncommon; flint is rare.

Stratum VI.—Rude house-walls of field-stones set in mud (so throughout the remaining strata). Jar-handles with “royal stamps” are found. This stratum is the upper limit of lamp and bowl deposits under the foundations of buildings, such as have been found in all the other tells. Iron is used, but bronze and flint are both much more common in proportion than in stratum VII.

Stratum V.—The pottery is transitional between pre-Israelite and Jewish types. Lamp and bowl deposits first appear in this stratum. I assume a connexion between the uppermost stratum on the Eastern Hill and the third stratum from the surface in the

Central Valley, because these remarkable deposits appear in each for the first time in their respective portions of the tell. Iron is only just beginning to be used; bronze is the regular metal, but flints (generally rude flakes) are used in great abundance.

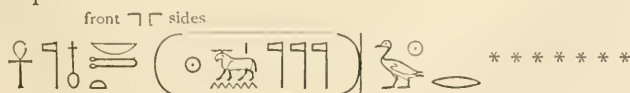
Strata II-III.—Two successive strata which cannot easily be distinguished except by the superposition of the foundations of their house-walls. The pottery types are much the same in both—rather early pre-Israelite. Scarabs of the Egyptian Middle Empire, and jar-handles stamped with scarab-like seals, are found, especially in stratum IV. Bronze is the only metal used, but fine flint knives are the most usual tools.

The great temple in the Central Valley occupies both these strata.

Stratum II.—The remains of this stratum are as yet very scanty. It is characterised by very rude pottery, and apparently an entire absence of metal—I say apparently, for it is not always easy to dissociate strata II and III, and their respective objects, one from another. With this stratum I associate the cremated remains in the first burial cave.

Stratum I.—The occupation represented by certain troglodyte dwellings, artificially cut in the hill-top, underneath the temple. They will be more fully described later in the present report. They are characterised by absence of metal, by rude flint and bone implements, and by very roughly-made porous pottery. Strata I and II are probably contemporary, or at any rate continuous, the culture of both being similar.

We are not without indications whereby approximate dates can be assigned to these strata. Among the objects found in VII was a small slab of red sandstone, apparently the bottom of a box, of which the sides have been chipped away; the back half has also been lost. Its present length is $4\frac{1}{4}$ inches, its breadth $3\frac{3}{8}$ inches, its present thickness $1\frac{1}{2}$ inches. Round the vertical edge runs an inscription, the first character of which is in the middle of the front. Starting from this point the inscription reads both ways, symmetrically repeated, abruptly stopping at the fracture by which the back half of the object has been lost. The following is a transcript:—



The inscription, so far as it goes, consists merely of the prenomen and titles of a king. The name in the ring is *B³-n-R³-ntrw-mr*, which is the prenomen of *Nṣf'urw* (*Niafāauru*) I, the first king of the twenty-ninth dynasty, who reigned 399–393 B.C. The object is so portable that we cannot regard it as an absolute indication of date; exact chronological deductions from it would be as fallacious as are similar deductions from scarabs; but it supplies us with what I may term a landmark for the history of the seventh stratum.

The jar-handles with royal stamps have been assigned by the most reliable criticism to some time in the sixth or seventh century B.C. These being found in stratum VI give the required landmark for the history of that occupation. Neither the Egyptian inscription nor the stamped jar-handles could of themselves give reliable chronological information; they supply neither a *terminus ad quem* nor a *terminus a quo*, for we do not know how long the city may have existed before they were manufactured, nor how long after they were manufactured they may have been imported into the city. But when we find in two successive strata objects dating respectively from the sixth-seventh century, and from the beginning of the fourth, we are justified in deducing that the change of occupation took place somewhere about the sixth or the fifth—between the two. In all probability the change of occupation is the result of the Captivity, and we may therefore date the close of the sixth stratum in the earlier half of the sixth century B.C. To date its commencement the evidences pertaining to the fifth stratum have to be taken into account.

Hitherto, however, the fifth stratum has yielded no dateable object. A chronological deduction may, however, be drawn from the lamp and bowl deposits, which appear in Palestinian tells at a stratum corresponding to a well-defined point of time. The excavation at Tell el-Hesi showed this very clearly. In that mound the deposits of lamps and bowls under house-walls first appear in the fourth city. This fourth city was built after the site had been desolate a sufficient length of time to allow a thick bed of ashes to accumulate over its surface, and after certain well-marked changes had taken place in local pottery. There is no historical event that can account for this sudden disturbance of continuity, save one—the Israelite immigration; and we are fairly safe in assuming that this rite is peculiarly Israelite, and unknown to the Amorites and their contemporaries.

Nothing is said of this custom in the Hebrew scriptures; I may, perhaps, digress from the subject immediately under discussion in order to hazard a guess as to its origin and meaning. The essence of the rite is the deposition of sand, or, in its absence, fine dry earth, in a receptacle, under or close by the foundation of a building. Now, we know that the Hebrews were in the habit either of instituting rites and observances, and of erecting monuments, in order to commemorate important historical events, or else of adapting previously existing rites and monuments, and investing them with a memorial significance. Familiar instances are the Sabbath, the Passover, and the dolmen or rude stone monument of Gilgal, which, whatever their ultimate origin may have been, are explained as being commemorative respectively of the Creation, the Exodus, and the entry into Canaan. May we not see in these sand deposits a commemoration of the nomad period of the tribal history, when dwellings were tents pitched on the sand of the desert? This explanation is, of course, incomplete, and it does not account for the invariable presence of a *lamp* in the pottery group, which may be due to some unknown special circumstance connected with the original institution of the custom.¹

On this account I am inclined to regard the fifth stratum as the earliest Israelite city on the mound—that is, the city in which the Israelites and the Canaanites dwelt together, according to Joshua xvi, 10. It is, therefore, probably the city destroyed by Solomon's Egyptian father-in-law (1 Kings ix, 16); if so, we are able to arrive at an easy explanation of the shrinkage of the city immediately afterwards. Till the destruction of the city by the king of Egypt the Canaanites and Israelites had dwelt together in Gezer, and as this fact is especially referred to in the chronicle, it is probable that the Canaanites formed a large proportion, if not the majority, of the population. When Pharaoh destroyed the city he killed all the Canaanites; therefore, when Solomon rebuilt the city he had a smaller population to provide for, and did not need to build the city so large as it had been before. Thus I explain the fact that after the fifth stratum the Eastern Hill is entirely deserted, and shows no later buildings, except some Maccabæan water-works.

The third and fourth occupations are undoubtedly pre-Israelite, and show the so-called "Amorite" civilisation fully developed. The

¹ At the last moment, before sending off this Report, a curious group has been found, in which the saucer under the lamp is of sun-dried clay.

scarabs supply the only chronological landmarks, and these are so numerous, and their testimony is so uniform, that we are, perhaps, safe in accepting their evidence, and in consequence may assign a major date-limit of $2000 \pm x$ B.C. to the epoch of these strata. The limit of variation allowed to the unknown quantity is about 200 years each way.

An indication of the great antiquity of the troglodyte dwellings is given by the fact that one of them had been utilised for the purposes of the temple erected above it, but not till its floor had been covered with a uniform layer of earth, about 3 feet thick, silted through the entrance and roof-openings. I do not think the date of these excavations can fall far short of 3000-2500 B.C.; the second stratum probably occupies a place intermediate between this date and the major date assigned to the Amorite strata.

To complete the correlation between the literary and archaeological history of the tell we still require the strata corresponding to the period of Alkios (who carved the boundary stones), and to that of the Crusaders. These will probably be found on the Western Hill, or perhaps off the mound altogether, and under the modern village, one hut in which is alleged to contain fragments of a mosaic pavement.

A provisional table of the above results is given on the opposite page.

§ III.—THE SECOND BURIAL CAVE.

When first opened, the Second Burial Cave had all the appearance of being a comparatively uninteresting cistern, and it was not until the silted earth, with which it had been nearly filled, was cleared out that its curious history became apparent.

It is a chamber cylindrical rather than bell-shaped, 20 feet 6 inches deep, and on the average 15 feet 3 inches in diameter at the bottom. The entrance is a circular hole about 3 feet in diameter, cut in the roof rather south of its centre. The chamber was originally formed to serve as a cistern, and evidently was for some time used for that purpose, since a dipping-hollow, 5 feet across and 18 inches deep, had been cut in the floor just under the mouth, clearly to enable water-drawers to fill their pitchers when the cistern was nearly empty. This dipping-hollow had been silted up with tough, slimy clay (in which many fragments of pitchers broken by careless dipping were embedded) before the second stage of the history of the excavation was reached.

| STRATUM. | CHARACTER OF DÉBRIS. | ARCHÆOLOGICAL PERIOD. | HISTORICAL PERIOD. | APPROXIMATE DATE. |
|-----------|---|---|----------------------------------|-------------------------------------|
| IX | (Not found) | Iron. | Crusaders. | 1200 A.D. |
| VIII | (Not found) | Iron. | Alkios. | 100 \pm x A.D. |
| VII | "Tell Sandahannah" pottery. Inscription of c. 395 B.C. Lamp and bowl deposits disappear. No evidence of Temple worship. | Iron (bronze merely ornamental; flint disappears). | Captivity to Maccabees. | 640—0 \pm x B.C. |
| VI | Jewish monarchy pottery. City reduced in size. Lamp and bowl deposits found. Temple worship maintained. | Iron (bronze implements and weapons still common; flints also used). | Solomon to Captivity. | 1000—600 B.C. |
| V | Transition, pre-Israelite to Jewish pottery. Lamp and bowl deposits first appear. Temple area encroached on by build- ings, but still sacred. | Iron just commencing (bronze still usual; flints very common). | Judges to Solomon. | 1400—1000 B.C. |
| IV III | Pre-Israelite pottery. Middle Empire scarabs. Temple worship observed. | Bronze (flint very common). | Semitic pre-Israelite races. | 2000 \pm x —1400 B.C. |
| II I | Very rude pottery. Flint and bone implements only. Cave dwellings. | Neolithic. | Pre-Semitic Aboriginal races. | 3000 \pm x —2000 \pm x B.C. |

NOTE.—The four occupations on the Eastern Hill, described in the previous Report, are the second to the fifth of the above scheme.

I infer from the chronological indications that the original formation of the cave and its use as a cistern are to be ascribed to the inhabitants of the third stratum in the scheme set forth in the last section—that is, the second city on the Eastern Hill. If so, its adaptation as a burial cave must belong to the fourth stratum (third city), because, as we shall presently see, the inhabitants of the fifth (or topmost) stratum applied it to other purposes. On the rock floor of the cistern were deposited the remains of 15 persons, and with them a number of bronze weapons. As some of these deposits lay on top of the silt filling the dipping-hollow, the cave must have been used as a cistern before it was adapted as a cemetery.

The report on the bones by my father (p. 50), who was fortunately able to be present while the cave was cleared out, makes it unnecessary for me to say anything about their physical characteristics. I need only remark that they are the remains of 14 males, of ages from about 16 to about 50, and of one female, aged about 14.

The bodies were not cast in, or fallen in by accident, but were deposited in position by people who descended with them into the cave. This was shown by three indications: (1) no bodies lay immediately under the entrance, as would have been the case had they fallen in¹; (2) stones were laid under, round, and sometimes above them; (3) a large quantity of charcoal found among the bones showed that a funeral feast, sacrifice, or similar rite had taken place within the chamber.

The survivors who deposited the bodies apparently attached no importance to their attitude or orientation. In Plate II each skeleton is drawn in the attitude in which it was found. The contracted attitude is apparently the normal (as we found in the first burial cave), but two were stretched out (8, 15), whilst one (9) had apparently been placed sitting in a squatting position—these bones had all fallen down in a heap—and another (14) seemed to have slipped down from leaning against the wall.

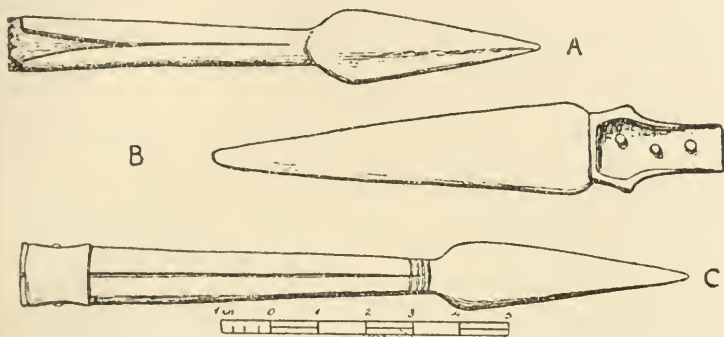
The plan also shows the positions of the objects deposited with the skeletons, which are drawn out on Plates II, III.² A spear-

¹ Even had they fallen into water and floated before settling down, it would be a very singular circumstance if all the fifteen had gravitated to the sides of the cistern.

² Plate III, illustrating the objects deposited, will be published in the concluding memoir.

EXCAVATION OF CEZER

SECOND BURIAL CAVE



head (D) and needle were underneath the skeleton, 9; otherwise none were definitely connected with particular individuals. It must be remembered, however, that the spears must originally have had wooden shafts, long ago rotted away. An imaginary restoration of these enables us to associate C with 6, E with 4, and perhaps B with 5: the latter, however, being a hafted knife, is more likely to belong to 14. F and G cannot be associated with any of the bodies. A, C, D, E (*see* Plate II) are spearheads with hollow sockets; the stump of the wooden shaft still remains in the socket of A. A ring, hammered and riveted, is found at the end of C to keep the joint from opening. E is a splendid spearhead, 17 inches long, with an ornamental blade. B is a knife, flanged for hafting-plates of wood or bone; the bronze rivets that secured them still remain. F is a common type of axehead. The needle associated with D is of the mid-shank eye type, alluded to in the previous report as being characteristic of the Gezer-Lachish group of antiquities; it is the only evidence forthcoming that the bodies were deposited with any covering.

These fine weapons have unfortunately been severely attacked by the cankerous bacillus so well known to curators and collectors, and it is to be feared that they will before long be completely corroded away. I have treated them with ink baths in the hope of staying the corrosion.¹

Besides the bronze there was also found a cow's horn (associated with the axehead, F) and a three-legged stone fire-dish for cooking. The latter was broken, and inverted over some sheep bones, no doubt the remains of a food deposit. It is not quite safe to assume that the fracturing of the fire-dish is in accordance with the well-known custom of fracturing objects deposited in graves, that their spirits may be released and minister to the needs of the spirits of the departed. We have not yet found testimony that the pre-Israelite Semites followed this animistic custom, and there is no evidence that the associated weapons were broken, as they would undoubtedly have been in such a case. The shafts being entirely decayed away, we cannot tell if they were snapped across; the heads were all found lying in such a position as to allow an *unbroken* shaft of reasonable length to intervene between them and the chamber walls. A small jug (represented on Plate III) was found in the dipping-hole; it is the only piece of pottery from the

¹ A photograph is forwarded, showing their actual state.

chamber possessing characteristic features. It belongs to the cistern, not to the cemetery period of the cave.

Though disposed in an apparently random manner, we have seen that these bodies had all been carefully deposited, and not cast in. This leads me to infer that they were all placed in the cave at once, and were therefore probably the victims of a single catastrophe, whether an accident, a pestilence, or a battle—more probably one of the two last-mentioned, for all probable fatal accidents would certainly have left traces, such as fractures or charring on some of the bones. The cave is, unlike the first cave, so inconvenient to enter, that I can hardly imagine its being employed on several successive occasions. Had it been used as a common cemetery, we have learnt enough of pre-Israelite methods of interment to know that bodies of both sexes would have been cast in indiscriminately, and would have been found in a haphazard heap at the bottom. But the chief problem presented by the cave lies in the extraordinary circumstances attending the single female interment, a photograph of which will be found on Plate IV (No. 2). The body had been cut in two just below the ribs, and the upper half was alone deposited in the cave.

Obviously the explanation of the condition of this skeleton turns primarily on the question whether the mutilation was *ante* or *post mortem*. If *post mortem*, we have evidently to deal with a burial custom in some degree analogous to that illustrated by Dr. Petrie's discoveries at Naqada. But this explanation involves serious difficulties. So far as I can recollect, the Naqada bodies, though mutilated, were entirely buried—that is to say, the severed members were deposited with the rest of the remains. In the Gezer example, however, the lower half of the body was certainly otherwise disposed of, and was not to be found anywhere in the burial chamber. Further, it would be impossible to explain why one body only out of 15 was thus treated. If the mutilation was *ante mortem*, two possible explanations are forthcoming: we have to deal with the victim of a murder, or of a sacrifice. The last seems to me the more satisfactory. Had the case been simply one of murder, of a peculiarly savage and clumsy character, most probably both halves of the body would have been got rid of by depositing them together. But in a case of sacrifice it is quite conceivable that the missing half might have been disposed of in some other manner. It might, for instance, have been burnt, or even—so persistent are

Excavation of Gezer*no. 2**no. 5**Interments in the Second Burial Cave.*

the survivals of savagery in natural religion, even when a comparatively civilised condition has been attained—ceremonially eaten.

As will presently be shown, the evidence at present available indicates that the normal human sacrifices in Palestine were those of very young infants. The few examples we find recorded of older persons being sacrificed have all been special cases, connected with particular crises. Such are the sacrifices of Jephthah's daughter, and the son of Mesha, and, we can hardly doubt, the attempted sacrifice of Isaac. If the 14 persons buried in this cave perished, as we have just suggested, by some extraordinary calamity, it is quite conceivable that the survivors may have thought it necessary to make propitiation by an extraordinary sacrifice, extraordinary as well in the age—perhaps also in the sex—of the victim as in the barbarous method of slaughtering that was adopted.

In describing the first burial cave I laid stress on the fact that one of the interments consisted of an infant buried in a large jar, and argued that this individual infant was so treated because it had been sacrificed. It occurred to me at the time that possibly the pre-Israelite Semites considered it necessary to inaugurate a cemetery by a sacrifice: the evidence afforded by the second burial cave seems, if not to confirm, at least to strengthen, this theory. I must admit, however, that in another cave opened near the temple, where there were two or three interments, I found no trace of sacrifice;¹ and also that there seems no convincing evidence forthcoming in Palestine of the very much commoner inauguration of *buildings* by human sacrifice.

The question must be allowed to rest here for the present. We may sum up by saying that the evidence seems to point to a mysterious calamity as having caused the death of 14 persons, and that a perhaps entirely new method of sacrifice seems to have been considered necessary as an expiation. Possibly the method of slaughter adopted was chosen as being most likely to produce the maximum effusion of blood, a point that in itself emphasises its special character, since Robertson Smith has collected sufficient evidence, in the chapters in his *Religion of the Semites* dealing with sacrifice, to show that, as a rule, effusion of blood was avoided when human beings were sacrificed by the Semitic races. But we know so little about the pre-Israelite religions of

¹ This, however, was probably not a regular cemetery, or intended as such.

Palestine that at present the problem must be left as not fully soluble.

In the period of the fourth city the cave was again utilised, apparently as a cesspit. A shaft was built, carrying up the mouth through the debris that had accumulated since its original excavation, and a drain, constructed of old potsherds, made to lead into it. The sketch (Fig. 1) shows the curious receiver, made of two large broken jars, by which waste was poured into the drain. The stratum of deposit representing this period of the cave's history yielded nothing of any interest. It was overlaid by a tall cone of alluvial soil washed gradually through the mouth of the cistern.

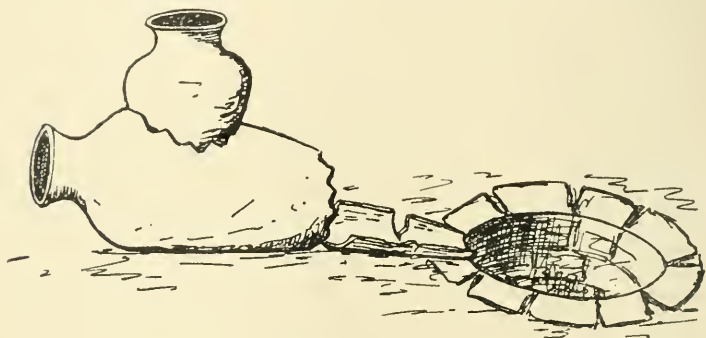


FIG. 1.—Receiver made of Broken Jars.

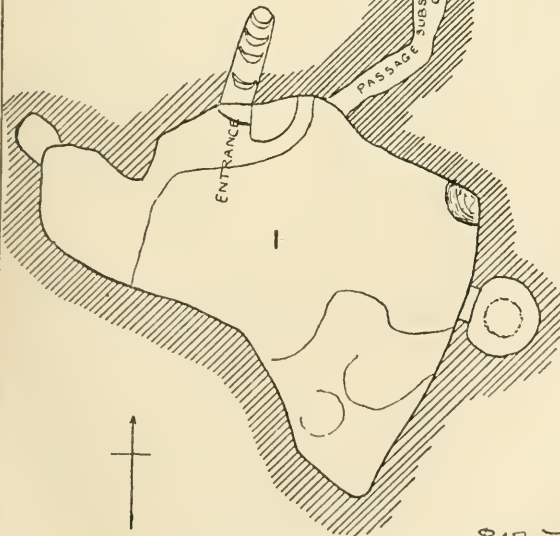
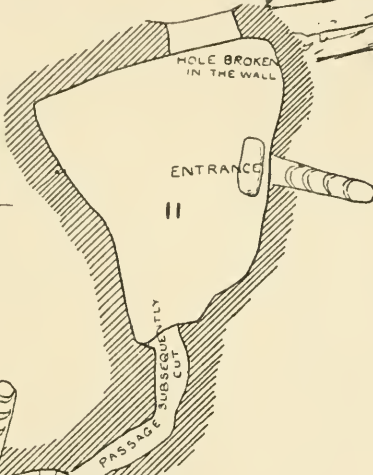
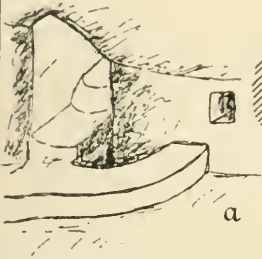
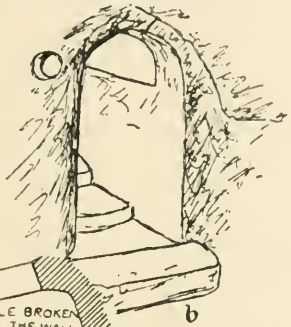
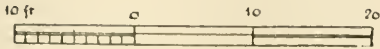
§ IV.—THE TROGLODYTE DWELLINGS.

In the rock at the bottom of the great pit dug in the Central Valley have been found a group of caves, approached by rock-cut steps, and in many respects resembling the first burial cave illustrated in the previous report. Three have so far been uncovered. Of these I have completely cleared out two; the third, which still awaits examination, has been turned at some later date (probably in the sixth city period) into a cistern, and a new shaft constructed, breaking into and interfering with the original steps.

The accompanying plan shows the two chambers that have been submitted to examination. It will be seen that they are laid out with no regularity, and it is not improbable that they are partly natural in origin. The friable limestone has preserved no pick-marks that give any information. The maximum diameter of the

EXCAVATION OF CEZER

TROCLODYTE DWELLINGS



R.A. Stewart Macdonald

first is 40 feet 6 inches, and of the second 27 feet 6 inches. The only points calling for notice on the plans are:—(1) A curious curved ridge, like a low seat, developed from the bottom step of the entrance in the larger cave (*see* Plate V, Fig. *a*). (2) A shallow pit, 2 feet deep, in the north-west corner of the same cave. (3) The doorway of the smaller cave, which is well formed, and has a hole bored through the jamb, probably for receiving some rude door-fastening (Plate V, Fig. *b*).

The results of the clearance of the cave were, on the whole, disappointing. The most important objects found are represented on Plate VI.¹ The pottery is all of uniform character—coarse, drab, porous ware, hand-made, very gritty, and in many cases ornamented with a roughly-applied red wash, or with an equally rude yellow wash, with red (in a few cases black) streaks painted upon it. Several pieces were found also with red burnishing, sometimes very highly polished. All the characteristics of ware, form, and ornament correlate these sherds with the very earliest found in Palestine, and lead me to associate the original inhabitants of the cave with the neolithic people of the crematorium already described as the First Burial Cave. I need hardly say that metal was completely absent.

Of special objects in pottery I need only mention a saucer with red lines painted on it; a small globular jug, painted red, found broken into fragments; a fragment of a roughly-made flat bowl; the top of a vessel with ear-handles, and the stump of a straining bottle-filler, a bottle-filler which has belonged to a similar but larger vessel; two or three vessels with rude spouts; and a very curious little double cup (as I may call it for want of a better name, it is a bar of clay 5 cm. long, with an impression at each end about the size of a rather deep finger-print).

The stone objects found are some flint knives and saws: *chipped* flint implements being found, as is to be expected, though flaked flints are not unknown; a considerable number of stones and pebbles, small and large, which had been used for polishing or burnishing or grinding purposes—one or more sides having been in every case worn smooth by friction (a shoe-shaped object, in hæmatite, is one of these); a fragment of a small cylindrical mortar, and two or three roughly-cut emblems of nature-worship, which no doubt held the place of *teraphim* among the cave-dwellers;

¹ To be published in the concluding memoir.

a semi-circular plate of some dark-coloured stone, with a line traced round at the base, is possibly a painter's palette: one side is covered with red colouring matter; a circular stone ring, with a hole countersunk on both sides. Similar rings are found at all depths in the surface débris, and are probably spindle-whorls.

Of other objects we need only mention a bone amulet, identical with that found on one of the cremated bodies in the Burial Cave, and a number of the flat bone prickers or styli found at all levels in the excavations. I call them styli, as this is the generally adopted name, although in the present case it is, of course, quite out of the question that they should have been meant for writing. Finally, mention may be made of a pointed shank-bone pricker.

No human remains were found that could be associated with these objects. The skeleton of an infant was found in the larger cave; but, as will be shown presently, this must be associated with the temple. The decayed remains of a man's skeleton were also found in the same cave; these were so fragmentary that no observations of any importance could be made upon them.

Besides these caves, another was found to the north of them, larger in size, but lacking the rock-cut entrance steps which is the characteristic feature of the dwellings. This cave had been adapted as a burial-cave, and two fenced graves, like those in the First Burial Cave, were formed of loose stones. The cave yielded a fair amount of pottery, all of very early type, though it cannot compare in importance and wealth with the other caves. The bones had all decayed to dust, and could teach nothing. They were few in number, but I could not even determine satisfactorily how many bodies there had been. Besides the pottery, a number of small beads were scattered through the soil. There was a small chamber annexed to this large cave, but it contained nothing.

There are two or three other caves and cisterns in this part of the hills which have been uncovered, but at the moment of writing they have not been cleared out.

§ V.—THE TEMPLE.

The discovery of the temple is by far the most important yet made on the tell. The excavation is still in progress, but enough has been unearthed to justify my inserting in the present report a description of the structure, so far as is known.

The temple consists essentially of the following members :—

- (1) The sacred cave.
- (2) The alignment of pillar-stones.
- (3) The socket for the Ashêrah.
- (4) The temple area.
- (5) The boundary wall.

(1) The *sacred cave* is the same as that which I have already described as the first troglodyte dwelling, and it is a testimony to the antiquity of this excavation that its artificial nature and original purpose seem to have been forgotten before it was appropriated by the priests of the temple. Indeed, over all its area the rains had washed in earth, covering its floor to a depth of 3 feet.

The evidence that it had been utilised in connection with the temple worship was two-fold. In the first place an infant's skeleton, similar to those buried in jars in the temple area immediately above the cave, was found deposited on a large stone, lying on the surface of the earth spread over the deposits of the ancient troglodytes. In the second, a narrow passage was cut connecting the two caves. That this narrow passage belonged to the later, not the early period, is to my mind demonstrated by the fact—which can hardly be an accident—that its sill is level with the floor of earth.¹

What was the purpose of this passage? It can scarcely be meant merely as a means of getting from one chamber to the other, which can be much more conveniently accomplished by getting out of the chamber at the entrance, and walking over the surface of the earth to the second entrance. It is certainly possible to wriggle through the passage, but, on account of its narrowness, very inconvenient. That it was meant as a secret passage for flight is quite impossible—such a device would be singularly futile where the passage leads to a chamber from which the fugitive cannot choose but escape into the open air not a dozen

¹ It may be questioned how, in the thousand years, more or less, between the troglodytes and the temple, so much soil has washed in, whereas in the three or four thousand years between the temple and the recent opening of the cave, little or none has entered. I explain this by the fact that till the temple area was built over, the cave was open, and the year's rains all washed into it; after the buildings were erected over its mouth, a rapid accumulation of débris absorbed and distributed the rains and protected the entrance of the cave against silting.

paces from the cave he originally entered. Nor can I feel satisfied with a theory which would regard this as a method of communicating between the chambers when both were blockaded by enemies. The true solution seems to me to be indicated by the circumstance that, when first found, the external approaches to the second chamber were seen to have been carefully closed up—the stepped entrance by stones built up inside, and a hole broken in the north side by a pile of stones outside. This chamber was thus turned into a secret cell, approachable only by the narrow passage. The system of caves would thereby become a very simple and obvious means of delivering oracles. The inquirer would be admitted into the accessible chamber, a confederate of the priests having previously been stationed in the inner room. The passage is crooked, so that it is impossible to see through it; but it is so short that sacerdotal ingenuity could no doubt devise many methods of announcing the god's will and purpose by its aid. This is, of course, mere theory, but as there seems evidence that the sacred caves and *adyta* of Semitic temples were connected with oracle-giving, it may possibly be allowed to possess some measure of plausibility. The passage was not cut by tunnelling from one cave to the other; the simpler process of cutting a small narrow shaft from the surface of the rock between the chambers, and breaking in from it to them was followed. Probably at the same time the small domed cell on the east side of the first cave was cut. It is also on the level of the earth floor. Its diameter is from 5 feet 6 inches to 6 feet, and there is a circular entrance shaft in its roof.

(2) The *Alignment*.—This superb megalithic structure consists of a row of seven monoliths, with an eighth standing apart, and flanked by stumps of two others at the northern end. They stand with their feet raised at an average height of 3 feet above the rock. A platform of stones, about 8 feet wide, at the northern end, but narrower at the southern, runs under and around them, and helps to support the stones in an upright position. The seventh stone, when found, had fallen forward at an angle of about 60 degrees, and the eighth was prostrate; I have had them re-erected on their original positions.¹ The following is a description of each stone separately.

¹ Exactly so in the case of the eighth: the foot of the seventh had slipped backwards about 18 inches, and with the means at my disposal it was not possible to slide it forward. I had to be contented with swinging it back on its base, so that it is now slightly out of the almost regular curve in which the stones are made to stand.



FIG. 2.—Temple of Gezer before Excavation.



FIG. 3.—Temple of Gezer after Excavation.

The heights of the feet of the stones are referred to a horizontal plane running through the foot of the second stone, which is itself raised 2 feet 9 inches above the rock. The order adopted in the following list is from south to north:—

I.—Height, 10 feet 2 inches; breadth, 4 feet 7 inches; thickness, 2 feet 6 inches; height of foot, 1 foot 5 inches. A massive monolith, hewed to a roughly square section.

In the top of this stone there is a groove, as though to receive a rope or chain, at the western end of which are two sockets, one on each side, apparently for the block or bar to which the rope was secured (*see* Plate VII, where there is a sketch of the top of the stone). This detail does not appear on either of the other two large monoliths, a circumstance which militates against its being explained as a realistic touch in connexion with the apparent symbolism of the stones, or as a catch for the rope by which the monolith was hauled into position. A more plausible explanation was suggested to me by a statement in the *De Dea Syria*, of Lucian (§§ 28–29). In front of the entrance of the Hierapolis temple which he describes were two great stones of a similar character to these. Once a year a priest ascended to the top of one of these pillars, and remained sitting there seven days, during which time he acted as mediator between suppliants and gods. This priest ascended the pillar in the manner so well known to palm-climbing savages—by working upwards a loop of rope encircling his own body and the stone. Reaching the top he dropped a second rope down, by which he kept himself provided with everything he required. The stylite never slept during his week of office—it was alleged that a scorpion would crawl up the pillar and wake him if he did so. Lucian adds to this statement the characteristic sarcasm: “This scorpion story is a sacred one, and is of a character suitable to its divine associations; of its exactness I can say nothing—fear of falling off would, I think, contribute considerably to wakefulness.” From this comment of Lucian’s we learn that the perch of the Hierapolis stylites was no more secure than would be a seat on the top of the column now described, and it seems not impossible that an oracular or mediative stylite sat at certain seasons upon it, and by the aid of a rope secured in the groove hauled up whatever he might require during his stay at its top.

II.—Height, 5 feet 5 inches; breadth, 1 foot 2 inches; thickness, 1 foot 9 inches; distance from I, 7 feet 1 inch; height of foot, 0.

This is the smallest and most insignificant stone in the series, but it is possibly the most important. The upper end has been worked to a sharp point. By polished surfaces it shows plain evidence, lacking in all the other stones, of having been kissed, anointed, rubbed, or otherwise handled on the top by worshippers.

When it was first discovered, I assumed that it had been placed as a surrogate to the two great bœtylia which flank it, and that devotion meant for these was bestowed upon it, the tops of the larger stones being obviously out of reach. A much more probable explanation, however, was offered me by Dr. J. P. Peters, of New York (whose name is well known in connexion with his exploration of Nippur). While on a visit which he fortunately paid to the camp during the excavation of the temple, he made the happy suggestion that this comparatively insignificant stone was the original *beth-el* of the temple, and that its massive neighbours were merely honorific additions to it. With this theory I now concur, and, as will presently be shown, further evidence has since been found in support of it.

III.—Height, 9 feet 7 inches ; breadth, 5 feet ; thickness, 2 feet ; distance from II, 11 feet 8 inches ; height of foot, 1 foot 9 inches. An irregular monolith, similar to I, though less shapely and less massive. There is a cup-mark on the western face.

IV.—Height, 10 feet 9 inches ; breadth, 3 feet 7 inches ; thickness, 2 feet 3 inches ; distance from III, 3 feet 2 inches ; height of foot, 9 inches. This stone has been carefully shaped to a rounded form, and there can be little doubt that it disproves the general conclusion of Appendix F in Robertson Smith's *Religion of the Semites* (second edition, 1894).

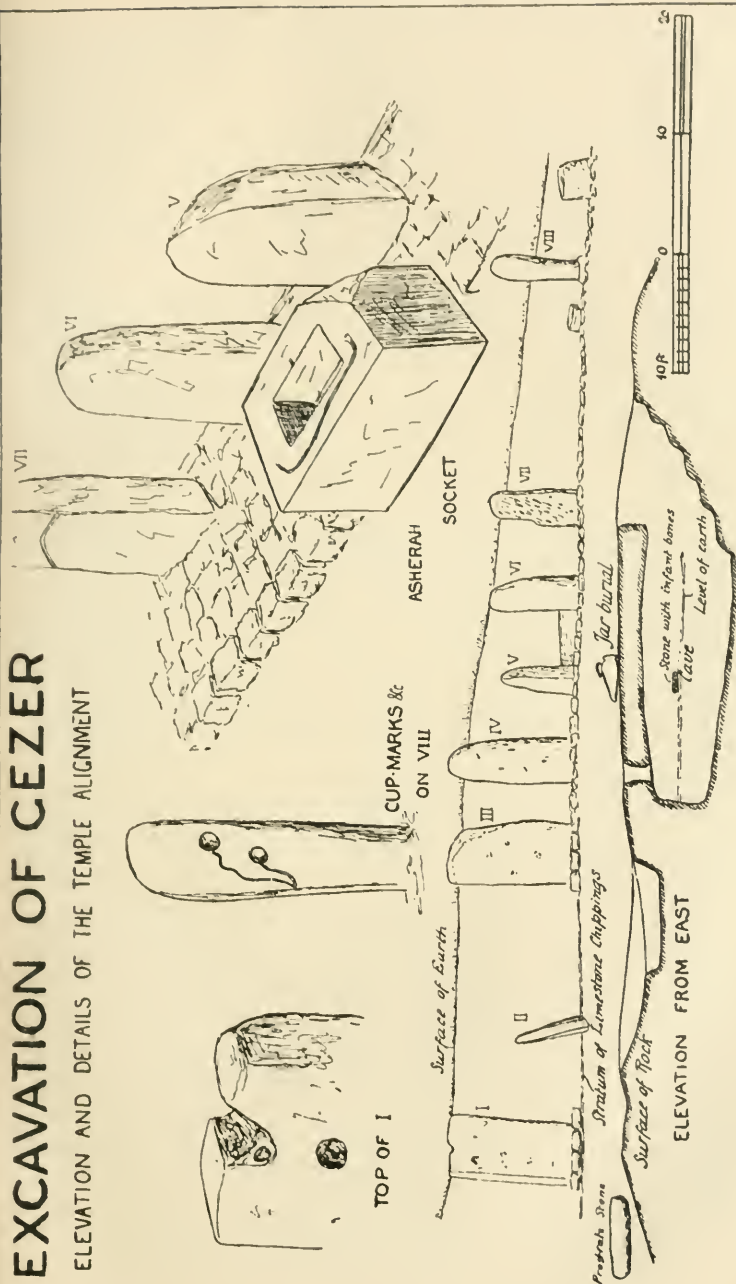
The tops of these stones (Nos. III, IV) projected above the surface of the ground, and formed the indications that led me to excavate on this part of the site. The top of I was also slightly uncovered, but so little was visible that there was nothing to show that it was not a small surface boulder.

V.—Height, 5 feet 10 inches ; breadth, 1 foot 7 inches ; thickness, 2 feet 1 inch ; distance from IV, 3 feet 7 inches ; height of foot, 1 foot 8 inches. A small stone, not unlike II in shape, but longer and thicker.

VI.—Height, 7 feet ; breadth, 2 feet 8 inches ; thickness, 1 foot 6 inches ; distance from V, 4 feet 1 inch ; height of foot, 9 inches.

EXCAVATION OF CEZER

ELEVATION AND DETAILS OF THE TEMPLE ALIGNMENT



VII.—Height, 7 feet 3 inches ; breadth, 2 feet 10 inches ; thickness, 1 foot 3 inches ; distance from VI, 4 feet 7 inches ; height of foot, 7 inches. A much-weathered slab. On the western face a shallow, curved groove, with the concavity downward, has been cut. This will be seen in the sketch of the stone, at the left-hand end of the illustration of the Ashêrah socket, Plate VII.

VIII.—Height, 7 feet ; breadth, 1 foot 7 inches ; thickness, 1 foot 4 inches ; distance from VII, 17 feet 11 inches ; height of foot, 9 inches. A well-shaped stone, rounded, and like IV, no doubt a *simulacrum Priapi*. Flanking it on each side are two small stumps of columns, which are remains of larger stones like the rest : the top of each shows fracture. This stone is unique among the group, in standing in a vat-like socket cut for it out of a single foot-stone built into the platform. On the western face are cut a couple of cup-marks and grooves (sketched on Plate VII).

That this last stone is a subsequent addition to the series is, I think, evident : (1) from its distance from them ; (2) from the special care which has been spent on its formation, a care not to be traced in any of the other monoliths ; (3) from its peculiarity in standing in a stone socket ; and (4) from its disturbing the number of *seven* columns, which almost unquestionably was the perfect number of sacred stones at holy sites.¹ But we can, I think, go further than this, and assert that the rest of the alignment is probably not all the work of one period.

Immediately south of the first stone another monolith is lying prostrate. It is 6 feet 2 inches long, and lies under and partly concealed by the southern end of the platform and the earth underlying it. Its length is 6 feet 2 inches, and its base is 1 foot 1 inch below the base of the second stone. This stone is probably a surviving relic of an earlier temple on the same spot. Were it standing, with its base in its present position, its top would be almost flush with the top of Monolith No. II. From this it might be inferred that the prostrate stone, and Monolith II, were the original sacred stones of the site, and that the greater antiquity of the second monolith is partly the cause of its especial veneration. The difficulty in accepting this view rests in the necessity of assuming that in the time of the supposed earlier temple the surface of the ground must have dipped rather more than a foot

¹ See Robertson Smith, *Religion of the Semites*, p. 210 seq.

in the southward direction, between the level at which the second stone stands and the level at which the fallen stone now lies prostrate. This is *possible*, because just south of the fallen stone the rock must have been exposed in the early ages of occupation, for a circular hole has been cut to a small natural cavity in the rock, apparently with the unfulfilled intention of making a cistern—but not *certain*, because the stratification of the uncut earth in the neighbourhood shows no evidence of such a fall in the ancient surfaces. It is, however, highly suggestive of a more advanced antiquity that the stone especially venerated, though the smallest, and therefore requiring the least depth of foundation, is actually sunk deeper in the earth than any of its neighbours. It is also striking that the platform of stones on which all the other monoliths stand is interrupted about this particular pillar.

The whole alignment is not straight, but stands in a fairly regular, gentle curve, with the concavity facing westward. The chord of this curve lies approximately north and south.¹

(3) The *Ashêrah*, or wooden pole, seems to have been an essential part of the equipment of a Canaanitish holy site (*Rel. Sem.*, p. 187, *et seq.*). After carefully considering all possibilities, I am inclined to regard a remarkable socketed stone standing on the platform level (but not *on the platform*, which is interrupted all round it) between Monoliths V and VI, and immediately west of them, as the basis on which the *ashêrah* of the Gezer temple was erected.² The stone is beautifully squared, 6 feet 1 inch long (north to south), 5 feet broad, 2 feet 6 inches thick. The socket is also well squared, 2 feet 10 inches long, 1 foot 11 inches broad, 1 foot 4 inches deep. A curved groove is cut in the rim of the stone west of the hole. A sketch of the stone will be found on Plate VII. This stone is not an altar, certainly not for sacrifice by fire, for no trace of fire can be detected upon it, and it would be very difficult to keep a fire alight in the hole. Nor does it appear to have been intended to contain any liquid, as the socket is not plastered, and evaporation and absorption would rapidly empty the receptacle. The hole, it is true, seems too large for receiving a wooden pole of any likely size, but presumably wedges were driven in, in order to keep the pole in its upright position.

¹ I had intended adding a plan to this account of the alignment, but decided that it was better to wait until the entire temple area had been examined.

² The suggestion is originally due to my father.

(4) The *Temple Area*.—The extent of the temple area is, as yet, unknown, owing to the incompleteness of the excavation. The level of the floor seems to have been that of the platform round the feet of the columns, and is marked, wherever reached, by a layer of limestone chips. About 2 feet 6 inches to 3 feet of soil underlies this stratum, and contains the scanty remains of the earliest occupations.

So far as I can make out, the temple area was empty in the pre-Israelite period. It is true that the whole surface is covered by ruined walls, stratified and re-stratified in as bewildering a complexity as we find on the Eastern Hill; and I was at first inclined to consider the lowest of these as essential parts of the temple, and to interpret them as vestries, treasuries, lodgings for priests and *kēdēshoth*, &c. But after drawing out the plans, I came to the conclusion that these buildings could not be associated by any feasible scheme of design with the alignment or boundary wall of the temple, and that they were, therefore, mere house walls, erected when the sanctity of the temple was less respected than at first—and probably under the pressure of the necessity of housing an increased population (Canaanites *plus* Israelites) within the limits of the city wall. With this agrees the evidence of the pottery, and other objects, from the site, which show little between the primitive art of the pre-temple troglodytes and the transitional form of the fifth stratum of occupation. The modern inhabitants of Avebury, who live among the stones of that great pre-historic site, are to some extent parallel to the Judæo-Canaanites, whose houses almost abut against the great stones of the temple of Gezer. The parallel, however, is not exact, for unfortunately the Avebury people have little respect for the remains of their predecessors, while those who encroached on the temple still, as we shall show, regarded it as a sacred enclosure. A better parallel is a Kerry farm that I know, in the yard of which is an ancient standing stone that, from an uncomfortable apprehension of uncanny influences, the farmer would not injure under any circumstances.

The stratum of earth underlying the floor of the temple area proved to be a cemetery of infants deposited in large jars. The jars were large, two-handled, pointed-bottom vessels, like Plate VII, No. 124, in Petrie, *Tell el-Hesi*. The body was usually put in head first, and generally there were two or three smaller vessels—usually a bowl and a jug—deposited either inside the jar between the body

and the mouth of the vessel, or else outside and in the neighbourhood. None of these smaller vessels contained organic remains or other deposits, and no ornaments or other objects were deposited with the bodies. The large jars were all badly cracked, and none of them could be even partially rescued. All were filled with earth, covering the bone and pottery deposits, but whether the earth was put in at the time of burial, or washed in afterwards, I could not certainly decide from the indications afforded; there is reason, however, for believing that it was put in at the time of burial.

Two of the bodies had been burnt; in the others no sign of fire could be detected. So far as these excessively delicate bones could be examined, no evidence was found that the bodies were mutilated in any way; and if, as Robertson Smith argues, effusion of blood was *normally* avoided in human sacrifice, it is probable that the victims were suffocated—perhaps smothered in the earth with which the jars were filled.¹ For that we have here to deal with infant sacrifices is, I think, so self-evident that it may be assumed without argument.

The infants were all newly born—certainly none were over a week old. This shows that the sacrifices were not offered under stress of any special calamity, or at the rites attaching to any special season of the year, for assuredly *some* occasion would arise when a new-born child was not to be found, and an older child would be sacrificed, whose remains would then be found with the rest. The special circumstance which led to the selection of these infants must have something inherent in the victims themselves, which devoted them to sacrifice from the moment of birth. Among various races various circumstances are regarded as sufficient reasons for infanticide—deformity, the birth of twins, &c.—but among the Semites the one cause most likely to have been effective was the sacrosanct character attributed to primogeniture; and it is, therefore, most probable that the infants found buried in jars in the temple of Gezer were sacrificed first-born children. I need not remind the reader that the sacrifice of the first-born was so rooted a principle in the mind of the Hebrew, that the law of the Pentateuch prescribed that the first-born must be *redeemed* in the case of a child, or of an animal (such as the ass), which it was unlawful to sacrifice.

¹ As among the Arabs in the time of heathenism, who often buried alive their infant daughters.

These interments settle the character of the similar burials found by Professor Sellin at Taanach, described by Dr. Schumacher in the *Quarterly Statement*, July, 1902, p. 303, and it is not improbable that an extension of the excavation in the immediate neighbourhood of that "children's cemetery" would reveal a temple or high place comparable with this of Gezer. Further, they explain one of the most perplexing results of the excavation of Tell el-Hesi. At the latter site Professor Petrie found, outside the town enclosure, a quantity of bones buried in jars, all filled with sand. He describes the jars as large (one of them is his Fig. 124, which I have already referred to as fairly representing the Gezer jars), and as often containing smaller vessels with usually a bowl inverted over the top of the jar as a cover (this I have also found, but not *usually*). Small pottery was discovered among the large jars. In short, Professor Petrie's description of his "cemetery" (*TH.*, p. 32) would stand as a satisfactory description of mine, with three trifling differences: his jars are upright, mine prostrate; his are filled with fine white sand, mine with fine earth; and he found a "little wire circle that might have been a child's bracelet," while I had no such good fortune. The extremely minute infant bones might easily be taken by one not a professed anatomist as the bones of small animals; it is not unlikely that had I not been looking out for jar-burials of children, owing to information I had received about the discoveries at Taanach, I might myself have missed their significance. I need hardly point out that the child's bracelet is a strong argument in favour of this explanation of the Tell el-Hesi cemetery. As for the ass-bone identified from that site, I correlate it with the numerous cow-bones that I found here and there in the Gezer stratum of jar-burials, and regard it as an unimportant intrusion. It is probable that further excavation in the "cemetery" of Tell el-Hesi would throw yet more light on pre-Israelite religion. The sand filling the Tell el-Hesi jars was of different character to the surrounding soil, which leads me to regard it as probable that the earth in the Gezer jars was already deposited when the jars were buried.

The last point to notice about the Gezer cemetery is its violation of a rule which Robertson Smith (*Rel. Sem.*, p. 373 *seq.*) showed, from the evidence at his disposal, to be at least general; that Semitic human sacrifices took place outside the city. The Taanach cemetery, so far as I can make out from the descriptions as yet

published, also contravene this principle; it is observed, on the other hand, in the Tell el-Hesi cemetery.

(5) *The Boundary Wall*.—On the boundary wall of the temple I cannot yet speak with definiteness. A section, 80 feet long, of a great wall 13 feet across—nearly as thick as the outer city wall, which runs close by it—has been revealed at the north end of the alignment. The temple presumably had a wall surrounding its enclosure, and this wall seems to be in the right place; moreover, there is no other wall that can be the required boundary. However, until I have traced it round I prefer not to assert that this is actually the temple wall, for some chronological difficulties, to which I shall probably return in a later report, are presented for solution before the identification can be considered certain. There is a tower 41 feet long, 24 feet thick, projecting about equally inward and outward, and enclosing an oblong chamber within it, in the exposed section of the wall. This oblong chamber was full of small loose stones, the removal of which furnished two days' employment for a couple of gangs of men. The entrance to the third burial cave, already referred to, was found underneath them.

It would seem that, as a general rule, some special circumstance—a spring of water, a remarkably-shaped rock, or some other natural object which attracted attention—regulated the choice of a site for a primitive Semitic temple. In the present case the reason why the site was chosen is far from clear. It is certainly in the middle of the hill-top, but is not on the highest point of the hill—which, by the way, is a matter for congratulation, as in that case its site would be irrevocably sealed from the excavator by the superposed wely and Arab cemetery. If cup-marks have (as seems most probable) a primitive religious significance, it would appear that the sanctity of the spot was traditional from very remote ages, for several cup-marks are cut on the rock-surface underlying the temple floor.

I have now described all of the temple structure so far as the excavation has been carried. There remain to be said a few words about the objects found within it having a bearing on the nature of the temple worship. An enormous quantity of objects emblematic of nature-worship were found through all the strata superposed to the temple floor, except in the post-exilic city that formed the topmost stratum. Most of these were rudely cut out of soft limestone; two were made of brick, a few of pottery, bone, and

horn, and one was made of finely-polished marble. This fact is evidence that the stones did not lose their sacred character until the period of the captivity. Before long I shall forward a catalogue of the types of these objects, with illustrations, which can be deposited for reference in the office of the Fund.

A number of plaques of terra-cotta, representing in low relief the mother-goddess, were found throughout the strata. With one exception these were all of one type, different considerably in attitude, expression, and technique from those found in other parts of the tell. No perfect example was found, but a sufficient number of fragments were discovered to make a complete restoration of the type possible. They were cast from a mould, but evidently not one mould only, as there are slight differences of measurements in different specimens. The one exception referred to is of a type more common in Palestine, so far as we can gather from the excavations hitherto made, in which the goddess, adorned with bracelets and a necklace, is represented as holding two lotus-flowers (examples will be found figured in B.M.). A terra-cotta mould for casting the face of a goddess of Phœnico-Egyptian type was found in the sixth stratum, just south of the alignment.

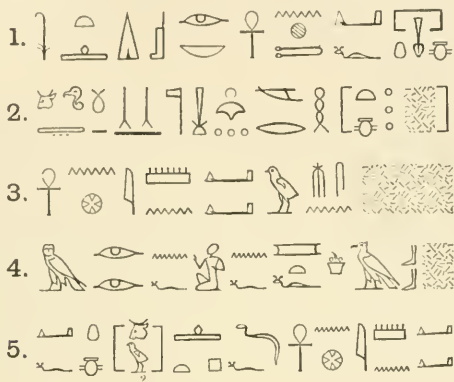
Until a good many more Palestinian mounds have been opened, and it has been discovered whether the temple at Gezer is or is not of exceptional size, the last question which at present suggests itself cannot even be discussed. If it be found, by future investigations, that the Gezer temple is of unusual size and importance, we shall then be in a position to enquire—Was the existence of this great shrine the reason for setting Gezer apart as one of the cities of the Levites?

§ VI.—THE EGYPTIAN STELE.

I now proceed to describe the more important of the smaller antiquities found during the past quarter. The principal discovery has been a fragment of a funerary statue, inscribed on the foot in hieroglyphics. The contents of the inscription are comparatively unimportant, but it holds out hopes of better things to come, for where there is one inscription there are surely more. The statue has been of the familiar mummy form, standing on a cubical block. The feet, swathed together, and the portion of the block immediately in contact with them, are all that remain. The inscription is in five lines, the first three of which are on the upper surface of the feet,

the remaining two on the vertical front face at the ends of the toes.

The lines of the original inscription as usual read from right to left. Some characters have been lost at the left-hand end of the three middle lines, and the two lower lines are battered and difficult to decipher. As I understand the legend it was as follows:—



ⲧ ⲙ ⲙ in line 2 is more usually written ⲙⲧ, and in lines 3, 5,

ⲧ ⲙ ⲙ is for ⲙⲧ ⲙ ⲙ. The whole reads *Stn htp di W'sir nb 'nh't; dif prhrw, muht, ntr-snt, urht . . . 'nh'ti [for hnti] 'Imtiw ms n . . . M'tinf nf nrtf b' [bb ?] . . . dif prhrw, htp, df n k' n 'nh'ti [for hnti] 'Imti—"A royal offering gift to Osiris, the living lord. He gives sepulchral feasts, clothing, divine incense, oil . . . to the chief of those in the Happy Otherworld, son of Maatinef, whom he loves, the soul he gives sepulchral feasts, an offering, divine food, to the double of the chief of the Happy Otherworld."*¹

This fragment was found lying loose in fifth stratum debris, a short distance south-east of the first stone of the alignment.

¹ [Professor Macalister writes:—"Probably the third line is a proper name, 'nh'imn'aw. This name occurs on a XIIth dynasty stele in Vienna. The fourth line may be not a proper name, but a series of qualifying terms before the name of the parent. The first word of the clause being lost at the end of the third line, it seems to read 'from (or in) his eyes, he praises his beloved Bab'b'—.' Baba is a common name in the epigraphy of the Old and Middle Empire. *Mht*, end of line 2, is 'wax.'"]

§ VII.—STONE OBJECTS.¹

Flints.—These continue to be found in large numbers daily—rough flakes forming, of course, the great preponderance. Chipped flints are found from time to time, but rarely. One in particular, so far as I have seen, is unique among Palestinian flints in having a tang for insertion in a haft—a curious example of the reaction of bronze objects in the class of implements surviving from the earlier archaeological stratum.²

Polishing Stones.—A large number of stones, of about a convenient size to grasp in the hand, have been found at various depths throughout the excavation. They seem to have been smoothed by the action of the sea. Usually they are flat and oval, or lozenge-shaped, and vary in thickness from about a third of an inch to about an inch and a half. I understand that similar stones are employed in the Lebanon at present for smoothing, polishing, and tracing out patterns in the earth floors of dwellings, and this seems to be as likely a use as any for the similar stones found in the excavations.

The rough edges of broken potsherds are also found used as polishing or scraping tools, and I have found a small fragment of a jar, and also a piece of a Rhodian jar-handle, with the fractured edges worn perfectly smooth by friction.

Small slabs of slag, or light, slag-like porous stone, are also found, chiefly, so far as I have observed, in the upper strata. These are flat and rectangular, about 5 inches by $4\frac{3}{4}$ inches thick. Occasionally examples are found with a vertical ridge, for grasping, projecting from one face. Similar stones are used in baths as strigils, for scraping the skin after bathing; and it is not improbable that this is the purpose for which they were provided.

Miscellaneous.—One of the most interesting objects in stone is a fine clunch mould for casting bronze axe-heads, found (in fragments) in one of the upper strata.

The only other stone objects that need be alluded to at present are a curious dumb-bell shaped pounder, and an oddly-shaped

¹ Plates VIII and IX, illustrating the stone and bronze objects, will be published in the concluding memoir.

² Since the above was written, two or three other specimens have come to light—none, however, so fine as the above. They are confined to the fifth stratum.

spindle-wheel or button, both of which come from the upper stratum. I may also mention a fragment of a curious, small, rectangular mortar, with rude animals' heads (one of them broken) projecting from the end.

§ VIII.—BRONZE OBJECTS.

The remarks to be found under the corresponding section in the previous report apply equally to the discoveries in this department made during the last quarter. Large numbers of pins, needles, arrow-heads, javelin-heads, and, in smaller quantities, spatulas, fibulae, tweezers, spear-heads, rings, and amulets form the great bulk of the objects discovered. It is worth noticing that, with one exception, all the arrow, javelin, and spear heads from the surface are tanged, while all in the fine collection in the second burial cave, already described, are socketed.

An *ar-goal*, consisting of a blunt bronze spike with a bronze plate wrapped round it, for making a socket to receive the end of the staff, is the only new form of implement found during the present quarter that need be specially referred to. It was dug up from stratum IV on the Eastern Hill.

From a deeper stratum came fragments of a curious pottery tray or dish, covered on its upper surface with a lining of bronze. Unfortunately the fragments were so indefinite and corroded that it was impossible to discover any detail of design that it may have shown, and this is all that can be told of the vessel.

In the acropolis at Zakariya was found a very rude figure, which was identified by M. Levy, of Paris, as a statuette of Atargatis. This identification seems satisfactory. It is fortunate the Zakariya figure was found first, for it was, comparatively speaking, human-like, and it helps us to identify a number of singularly rude objects, which at first sight would be cast aside as shapeless lumps of bronze, as attempting to represent the same goddess. Several have been found at varying depths, all being much ruder than the Tell Zakariya example. More satisfactory is the very fine statuette of Osiris in bronze, with a gold-leaf band round the loins, and the remains of gilding of the face: a minute trace also appears on one of the arms. This statuette was found rather deep in city VI, and may belong to the fifth occupation. A figure of Ptah, of similar style, was found at Tell el-Hesi in the fourth city (B. MMC., p. 67).

§ IX.—POTTERY.

(1) The most interesting "find" in pottery, and one of the most remarkable pottery objects yet found in Palestine, has been a lamp, in the form of a duck, which was found very deep in one of the trenches of the Eastern Hill, and is probably to be connected with the earliest years of the Semitic occupation (Fig. 4).

The ware is a dark drab colour, rather porous, and full of small pebbles. The object stands on a trumpet-shaped stand, with an

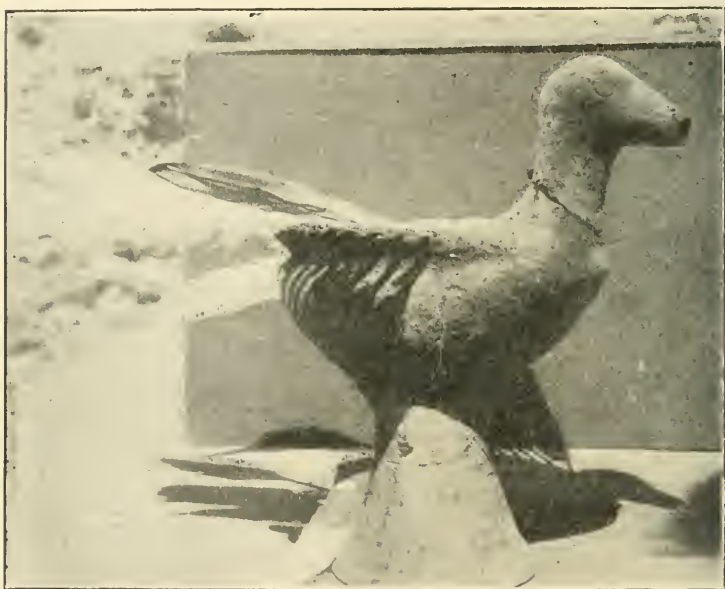


FIG. 4.—Lamp in form of a Duck.

elliptical mouth, ranging in diameter from 8.6 cm. to 10 cm.; the long axis of the mouth of the stand is neither parallel nor at right angles with that of the bird figure, but set obliquely. The height of the stand is 8.5 inches. The body of the bird figure is 12.7 cm. in length. The back has been modelled separately in two pieces, which meet in a crack running down the middle. The tail is missing; the stump is hollow, and no doubt the tail contained some

kind of tube device for conveying oil to the interior of the body. The neck and head are well modelled, the beak being developed into a hollow cylindrical spout, through which, no doubt, the wick protruded. Small circles grooved in the sides of the head represent the eyes. The wings are indicated by two little ridges, moulded, and applied to the sides of the body after the latter was modelled—this was evident, as one of them was found lying loose, and the smooth surface of the body was not interrupted by a fracture. The potter has ingeniously surmounted the difficulty of representing feathers in clay by providing holes in the rim of the wing, into which *real* feathers could be inserted (as in the Figure). Possibly there was also a plume, now lost, of similar character, on the top of the head, as there seems to be evidence of some small projection having been applied to this portion of the object. The whole stands to a height of 23.2 cm.

Other animal figures are frequently found—as noted in the last report—though none of any importance can claim an equal antiquity. As a general rule they are small heads of cows or horses. That these objects are not merely ornamental, or playthings, but have a religious meaning, seems indicated by the absence or rarity of representations of the camel and ass, which must have been at least as common as the horse in Palestine in early times. The sacred character of the cow we know from many sources; that the horse was also sacred is shown by the dedication of these animals to the sun by the kings of Judah (2 Kings xxiii, 11). To the nations of Palestine the camel and the ass had apparently no sacrosanct character, and they are therefore less commonly represented in pottery. It is true rude camel-heads were found in the Shēphēlah tells—just sufficient to show that no invariable rule can be made on the subject—but none have yet made their appearance in Gezer.

From the point of view of the zoologist, as well as of the antiquary, these animal figures have a certain interest, as they seem to indicate a familiarity with certain breeds and species which would no longer come under the notice of a Palestinian potter. A figure found at Tell eṣ-Şāfi, and another at Gezer, seem to show that a breed of zebu-like humped cattle at one time was to be found in the country (Fig. 5, *a*). The figures are rude, but they certainly do not represent camels. Of equal interest is the unmistakable head of a hippopotamus in red pottery, found in the fourth

stratum on the Eastern Hill (Fig. 5, *b*). There is no reason to consider this as other than local workmanship, and it is, perhaps, evidence that the hippopotamus was once to be seen in rivers (such as the 'Auje) accessible from Gezer. It will be remembered that a tooth of this animal, now never found below the second cataract of the Nile, was unearthed at Tell el-Hesi.

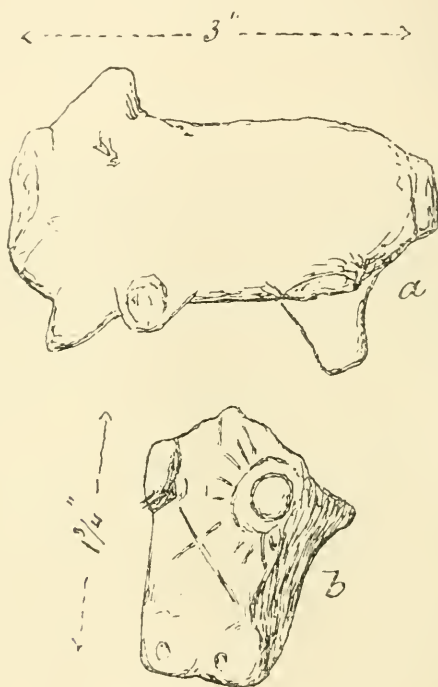


FIG. 5.—Figures of Animals.

A sherd with a serpent's figure embossed upon it completes the series of animal figures in pottery so far found.

(2) The 'Ashtârôth or mother-divinity plaques in terra-cotta, have already been referred to. With them should be classed the base of a statuette, found within the temple area. Evidently it represented a seated figure, the toes of whose (shod) feet still remain; but the chair and the rest of the statuette are broken away. Perhaps the missing figure was similar to the Cyprian goddess of fertility, several of whose statuettes were found in the

rubbish heap at Tell es-Şâfi. The pedestal was supported on four feet, one in each corner.

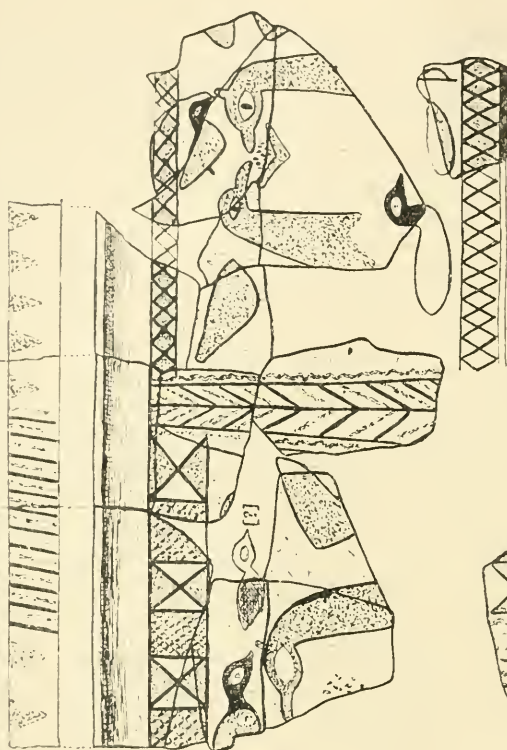
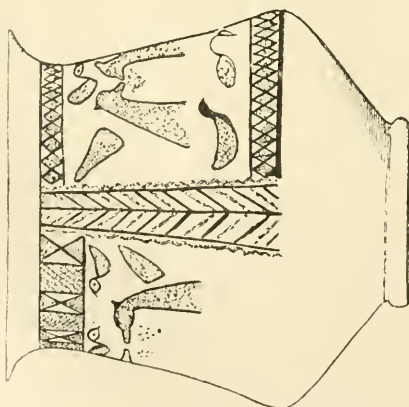
(3) Turning now to the branches of the study of pottery, I may say a few words on the painted ware, which is still occupying my attention. Every characteristic fragment is being at least temporarily retained for closer examination. A good many sherds have thus been collected and classified; but the great need is *whole* vessels, or, at least, vessels which, like the bird-jar from Tell es-Şâfi, can be put together and studied in their entirety. The nearest approach to the fulfilment of this desideratum, excepting some discoidal lentoid flasks¹ with simple spirals painted on the faces, has been the set of fragments of the fine vase, Plate X. About half of the upper part has been recovered; the lower part is a conjectural *restoration*, corroborated by a perfect but less ornate specimen of the same type, discovered after the plate was drawn. The *development* shows the fragments available: those marked A, though clearly belonging to the vessel, do not attach to any of the remaining portions. The colours used are black and dark Indian red. The latter has kept its colour very fairly, but the black has faded, and in places is almost impossible to make out. The painting is applied on a coarse yellow slip. The design consists of frets, like those on Dipylon vases, with small birds and large bird heads—the latter a curious anticipation of the “erased” heads of mediæval heralds. This vessel, which belongs to stratum V, negatives the generalisation that bird-figures in Palestinian coloured ware are painted black and animal figures red.

So far as I can see at present, there are four great classes into which the painted pottery of Palestine can be divided. There is (1) the type belonging to the Gezer-Lachish technique, which I described in the last report, and which seems to be found at Tell el-Hesi below the stratum of ashes; (2) the type very fully illustrated in the Shēphēlah tells, found at Tell el-Hesi *above* that critical date level; (3) the type of fine, white bowls having wish-bone handles with ladder-patterns upon them, called (rather perilously) Phœnician; and (4) the foreign importations from the area of Mykenæan culture. The chronological inter-relations of these types of painted ware is very difficult to make out. The Gezer-Lachish type does not appear at all in the Shēphēlah tells.

¹ This kind of vessel has been termed a “pilgrim-bottle”—an objectionable term, on account of the involved anachronism.

EXCAVATION OF CEZER

COLOURED VASE



PROJECTION



Handwritten signature or note in the top right corner.

but is almost exclusively found at Gezer and at Lachish, in the pre-Israelite strata—that is, below the bed of ashes at Lachish, and below the fifth stratum at Gezer. Contemporary with these strata, however, the Shephêlah type appears in the Shēphêlah tells. It would seem that after the Israelite immigration the Shēphêlah type spread to the Gezer-Lachish tells, for it there appears, to the exclusion of the other, in the Israelite strata—*i.e.*, in Lachish, apparently, in the fourth and fifth strata, in Gezer in the fifth and (comparatively uncommonly) in the sixth. That seems to date the close of the art at somewhere about the sixth century B.C., for in the sixth city at Lachish (which does not show this art) was found a sherd with some rough Old Hebrew letters scratched upon it, whose outlandish forms have made them a bone of contention to Semitic scholars. To me, at least, they seem to be merely an illiterate potter's attempt to imitate the לכלך stamped, for some as yet unknown reason, on certain sixth or seventh century jar-handles. In the same city, it should be remembered, was found a *Greek* inscription, which ought to be published in facsimile, as it was, for epigraphic and chronological purposes, perhaps the most important piece of writing found in the tell.¹

The Mykenæan and so-called "Phœnician" styles are for the most part found at Gezer, in the fourth and fifth strata, and thus extend from a little before the Israelite immigration to some time after it.

(4) A considerable number of vessels, found at all depths, with filtering strainers for pouring in or out, seem to show that the ancient inhabitants of Palestine were not so careless as their modern fellow successors about drinking dirty water. There are also a number of vessels of the same class, but for a different purpose. These have a circular hole in the base, of a convenient size to be stopped with the finger. If we may once more argue from modern to ancient customs, these vessels may be termed oil purifiers. At present, when it is desired to separate a mixture of oil and water, the fluid is poured into a vessel with a hole in the base, the hole being stopped up, and is left until the water has separated by its superior weight from the oil. When the oil is seen to float on the water, the stopper is gently withdrawn, and the water allowed to trickle

¹ See Bliss, MMC, pp. 102 *seq.*, 133.

away; as soon as *oil* begins to exude from the hole, the stopper is replaced, and the oil poured into a second vessel.

(5) The Seleucid or Maccabæan city shows the pottery which we know from the fine collection brought together from Tell Sandahannah to have been characteristic of its period, although the small portion so far excavated does not hold out promise of so rich a harvest as rewarded the excavations at the former tell. The characteristic forms recovered have been (1) the flat saucers on a disc base, with edges generally recurved, and often with a red wash covering the surface, inside and out, wholly or partially; (2) the long narrow-necked and narrow-footed ointment bottles, which, from being frequently found in tombs have received the stupid popular name, "tear-bottles"; (3) the closed lamps with embossed ornaments radiating round the oil-hole, and with a thumb-handle on the right hand side of the reservoir; and (4) the imported Greek bowls with stamped ornament upon them. Of the latter very few fragments have been found, and none of the fine jugs, such as were found at Tell Sandahannah, have come to light. The ware of the Seleucid period is absolutely unmistakeable, and even the smallest sherd can be recognised, as a general rule, from its emitting a musical ring when struck.

(6) The last piece of pottery that need be alluded to in the present report is a fragment of a barrel-shaped rattle, such as were found in considerable numbers at Tell Zakariya and Tell eş-Şâfi. These objects have usually been reckoned among children's toys, but I am inclined to think that this judgment requires reconsideration. One of the Tell eş-Şâfi rattles was too large and heavy to be comfortably manipulated by any child young enough to be amused by such a toy—even in the childhood of the world—and the discovery of the Gezer fragment inside the temple enclosure raises the question whether these instruments did not rather take the place of the *κρόταλα* or castanets by which, according to Lucian, the Hierapolis orgies were accompanied.

§ X.—MISCELLANEOUS OBJECTS.

Iron.—In the last report I recorded the discovery of a few iron objects, and showed that they could all be accounted for as accidental importations. This explanation, however, is unnecessary, for the discovery of a large iron knife, much corroded and broken,

just above the level of the temple floor, shows that the fifth stratum—that is, the topmost stratum on the Eastern Hill—is well within the iron age. Bronze is, however, the principal metal, and most arrowheads and similar objects continue to be made of the older material.

With this testimony agrees the results from Lachish. “Objects in iron occurred from the top of the mound down to the upper part of city IV” (B. MMC. 105). The archaeological evidence thus tends to show that the introduction of iron into Palestine, or at any rate into the Gezer-Lachish group of Palestinian occupations, was contemporary with the Israelite immigration. Whether the knowledge of the metal was brought by the Israelites from Egypt, or imported to the Philistines by sea-trade, and what commentators will make of the Canaanites’ “chariots of iron” which put difficulties in the way of a complete Israelite conquest, are questions on which I cannot enter. I can only state the archaeological evidence so far as it has been revealed by excavation.

Bone.—The discoveries in bone, though considerable in quantity, have been of minor importance. A curious rude carved head from the sixth stratum, and a fragment of a human figure wearing a *himation* from the seventh, are the only objects of any particular interest. To the list of animals whose bones have been found in the debris are to be added the buffalo, badger, and jerboa; to the list of shells perforated for ornament, the cowrie and trochus. A number of sea-shells (principally *buccinum*; there are, however, others, which I cannot identify) appear sporadically through the debris; they show no sign of having been adapted for wear or ornament, and may have been simply playthings; my workmen have occasionally asked my permission to take away some of these unworked shells as playthings for their own children.

In the temple area, close to the foot of one of the stones, was found a large handful of *Anodonta* shells. The foreman of the works gave me an interesting piece of information as to the modern use of friable shells of this kind. It seems that a fragment, powdered between the fingers, is sometimes rubbed on a wound to serve as a styptic. Possibly this may be a survival of ancient folk-medicine.

§ XI.—FOREIGN OBJECTS.

Scarabs.—The harvest of scarabs and of scarab stamps on jar-handles still continues fruitful, though the soil is not so rich in the neighbourhood of the temple as it proved to be on the Eastern Hill. They will all, with one exception, be seen to be of the same early type as those illustrated in the last report. There is still the disappointing absence of scarabs with royal names to record. They are confined, as before, to the fourth and fifth strata. The one exceptional scarab was found in the upper part of the sixth stratum. It is a grotesquely rude production, with a dome-shaped back, having no indication of the beetle upon it; two rough horse-figures and some stars occupy the base. The whole is probably not Egyptian, but a Phœnician or Syrian imitation.

Other Egyptian Objects.—I have to record two green-enamelled paste figures of the *wadjet* or Horus-eye, from the sixth stratum; a pendant amulet with a figure of Isis, also from the sixth stratum; and a carved stone figure of Hapi, from the fourth. The bronze statuette of Osiris has already been mentioned.

Cylinder.—A second seal-cylinder, bearing on it figures of two man-headed winged bulls, was found outside the city wall, north of the temple. No archæological level can be assigned to it, as the objects found round it were evidently thrown out at different periods.

Rhodian Handles.—A considerable number of these have been found, but the list is reserved, and will be printed all at once, when the work is finished. No doubt many additions may still be expected.

§ XII.—CONCLUDING SUMMARY.

I hold over descriptions of the city wall and of several minor buildings inside the city, partly because I have no room left in the present report to treat them with sufficient fulness, and partly because there still remain questions connected with them to be settled by excavation. I content myself, therefore, with mentioning a large stepped and plastered cistern or bath, associated with fifth-stratum débris on the Eastern Hill, which I now incline to regard as a Maccabæan intrusion; a magnificent well or cistern, with a shaft 9 feet across, which I have already cleared out to a depth of 40 feet, and which seems to be descending indefinitely;

two vaulted cisterns belonging to the Seleucid city near the temple; and a curious building divided into a number of small irregular chambers, apparently a complicated grain store, part of which has been uncovered.

I may mention here that I have visited the boundary stone, discovered and published about three years ago by the Dominicans of Jerusalem. I grieve to have to report that in the interval someone has hammered away all of the Hebrew inscription, so that to one not knowing the reading, and the exact place of each letter, it would be completely illegible. The Greek part of the inscription is intact. It has not, I think, been noticed that a fragment of a fence of stones passes through the site of this inscription, as though the "boundary of Gezer" had been marked, not only by these inscriptions, but by a row of small boulders encircling the mound and its surrounding lands. I have tried to follow this row of boulders in both directions, but the indication soon fails, owing to interruptions. I still hope, however, to pick it up again at some other point, and may be led, by its aid, to another of the boundary stones. The fragment that remains is important as showing that the Dominicans' inscription is *not* at a corner of the enclosure.

Apart from the discovery and partial excavation of the temple, with the information it has given us on early Semitic religion, probably the most important result of the last three months' excavation has been the establishment of a definite system of chronology, which agrees remarkably with the Biblical history of Gezer in all save one respect, the inconsistency already mentioned respecting the use of iron. Excepting this, a curious series of correspondences has already been indicated in the foregoing report, which may here be collected together in conclusion. A large temple is found in a city, which, at the Israelite immigration, was assigned to the Levites: as the Israelites were not 40 years' distance from their orgiastic worship of the golden calf, and as the period during which the Jephthahs of Israel offered human sacrifices to the God of Israel had yet many decades to run, probably the temple, with its attendant rites and ceremonies, could pass from Canaanite to Israelite with little or no modification. Further, the temple area, till then empty, is suddenly encroached on, while still retaining its sacred character, at a time corresponding with a sudden change of occupation in the strikingly parallel mound of Tell el-Hesi. This can only mean that the population at that

moment of time received a large increase, and accords well with the fact recorded in Joshua, that the old population of Gezer was not driven out, but reduced to servitude by conquerors who crowded themselves into the city—already, probably, like all Oriental towns and villages, overstocked with inhabitants. At a time seemingly contemporary with the beginning of the monarchy the town is as suddenly reduced by the depopulation of at least one-third of its area. It is practically impossible to avoid explaining this phenomenon by the massacre of the ancient Canaanite population under the Pharaoh whose daughter Solomon married. I should have said before that there have been large fires in the fifth city, but there is no definite burnt layer such as I expected to find when I commenced to open the mound. This burnt layer is, however, no longer necessary, for if these historical correlations stand, we shall be provided with two neat date-levels which cannot fail to be of the greatest value in unlocking whatever further secrets the mound may have in store.

THE BODIES IN THE SECOND BURIAL CAVE.

By Professor ALEX. MACALISTER.

OF the 14 males two were immature, aged about 18 and 19 respectively; the others were full-grown adults, all but one under 40 years of age. Of these the average stature was five feet five and a half inches (166 cm.), the extremes being five feet eight inches and five feet. Their bones showed that they were strongly built, as the muscular markings were prominent. More than half had flattened (platymeric) tibiae, and all but three showed the small articular facets on the front of the ankle-end of the tibia which is supposed to be associated with the habitual assumption of the squatting posture.

The skulls are large, "well filled," and capacious, mostly ellipsoid; but one resembles in every particular the pentagonoid skull from the first burial cave described in the last report. Two had premature synostosis of the parietal bones. With two exceptions they are moderately long, with an average index of 75, and fairly uniform in appearance. Of the two exceptions which are broad-headed, one is immature, the other does not differ in its other

characters from its fellows. They are orthognathous, but the wide jaw-arches are set with large, regular teeth. The noses are well arched, and must have been fairly long and prominent; they vary somewhat in width, but are for the most part leptorhine. The orbits are mostly low browed. The lower jaws are long, but only two have pointed chins. On the whole they seem to be good representative specimens of a race not unlike the present-day Arab.

The body of the girl had been cut through at the eighth thoracic vertebra, and as the front ends of the ribs had been divided at this level it is plain that the section had been made while as yet the bones were supported by the soft parts. The most careful search of the whole cave failed to discover a fragment of the body below this level. She was about 16 years of age, and probably about five feet two inches in height, with a fairly broad skull (the frontal suture being still open) and megaseme orbits. There was not any characteristic sufficiently distinctive whereby it could be ascertained whether she belonged to the same race as the men or no. My general impression, however, is that she did.

GOLGOTHA AND THE HOLY SEPULCHRE.

By Major-General Sir C. W. WILSON, K.C.B., F.R.S., R.E., &c.

(Continued from p. 384, October, 1902.)

4. HADRIAN, on the suppression of the rebellion, was able to carry out his project of rebuilding Jerusalem; and in A.D. 136, the year in which he celebrated his *vicennalia*,¹ the new city was dedicated to Jupiter Capitolinus, and made a Roman colony under the title *Colonia Ælia Capitolina*.² The size of the city is unknown, but it was probably surrounded by a wall³ which excluded the southern portion of the western spur, and included the traditional sites of Golgotha and the Tomb. Hadrian adorned the new colony

¹ The twentieth year of his reign. On these festivals, which previously had only been celebrated by Augustus and Trajan, it was customary to build or dedicate new cities, or to rename old ones.

² Ælia, from Ælius Hadrianus, and Capitolina, in honour of the god to whom the city was dedicated.

³ The present city wall is generally supposed to follow, approximately, the line of that of Hadrian.

with magnificent buildings, for which much of the material was obtained from the ruins of the Temple, palaces, &c.¹

On the site once occupied by the Temple of Jehovah the Emperor erected a Temple of Jupiter Capitolinus (Dio. Cass. LXIX, 12), and within it placed statues of himself² and of Jupiter, who was regarded as the guardian deity of the city. Amongst other buildings attributed to Hadrian are two public baths, a theatre, two market places, a Triameron, and others called Tetranympion, Kodra, and Dodekapylon (*Chron. Pasch.*).³ On the gate which led to Bethlehem was sculptured a boar, the fifth in rank of the *signa militaria* of the Roman army, and probably connected with the Tenth Legion.⁴

The constitution of Elia was that of a Roman colony; and the city was divided into seven quarters, each having its head-man. Jews were excluded by stringent laws. They were forbidden to enter under pain of death. Guards were stationed to prevent their entrance, and they were not allowed even to gaze upon the city from a distant height.⁵ Pagans and Christians alone were allowed to reside in the city, and the magnificence of the colony was of an essentially pagan character. The chief religious worship was that of Jupiter Capitolinus, but on the coins,⁶ Bacchus, Serapis, Venus or Astarte, and the Dioseuri, are represented as deities of the city. When or by whom the later temples were erected it is impossible to say. On the ground now occupied by the Church of the Holy Sepulchre stood a temple with regard to which there appear to have been two distinct traditions—one Greek, the other Latin. The first is that unknown persons erected a temple of Aphrodite above the Tomb of Christ; the second that Hadrian

¹ Eusebius, *Dem. Ev.*, viii, 3 (see Appendix 1).

² The Bordeaux Pilgrim (*Itin. Hierosol.*) mentions two statues of Hadrian; Jerome, *in Es.*, ii, 8, a statue of Jupiter and one of Hadrian; and *in Mat.* xxiv, 15, an equestrian statue of the Emperor. Possibly there was a statue in the temple, and an equestrian statue in the precincts. An inscription in the south wall of the Harâm esh-Sherif probably belonged to one of them.

³ See Appendix 2.

⁴ See Clermont-Ganneau, *Trois Inscriptions de la X^{ème} Légion Fretensis; Marcus et St. Georges; Études d'Arch. Or.*, i, 90, for the boar of the 10th Legion.

⁵ Sulp. Sev., *H.S.* ii, 31 (see Appendix 3). The prohibition was still in force early in the third century, and does not appear to have been relaxed until the reign of Constantine.

⁶ The coins range from A.D. 136 to the reign of Hostilian, A.D. 251-252.

set up (whether in a temple or not is not directly stated) a statue of Venus on the spot where Christ suffered, and a statue of Jupiter above the Tomb.

The *Greek tradition* is in general agreement with the statement of Eusebius (A.D. 260–339)—the only writer on the subject who could have seen the temple before it was demolished to make room for Constantine's churches. In his *Life of Constantine* (iii, 26), Eusebius says¹ that certain ungodly and impious persons covered up the Tomb and built, on a paved floor above it, "a gloomy shrine" to Aphrodite, thinking that they would thereby conceal the truth. Sozomen (375–450) states (*H.E.* ii, 1) that the Tomb and Golgotha were covered up by pagans who had formerly persecuted the Church, and that the whole place was enclosed by a wall and paved. The pagans erected a "temple" to Aphrodite, and set up "a little image," so that those who went to worship Christ would appear to bow the knee to Aphrodite. Socrates (*b.* 379) relates (*H.E.* i, 17) that those who hated Christianity covered the Tomb with earth on which they built a temple of Aphrodite with her image. In the later tradition of Alexander Monachus (*De Invent. Sanct. Crucis*), who wrote in the sixth century, the holy places are covered up by the Jews, and the temple and statue of Aphrodite are the work of idolaters of later date.

The *Latin tradition* rests upon the authority of writers who, although some of them may have conversed with old men who had seen the temple when young, had no personal knowledge of the "holy places" before their isolation from the surrounding rock by Constantine's architect. So far, then, as they contradict Eusebius one cannot give them the preference. Rufinus (345–410), who does not mention a temple, says (*H.E.* x, 7) that an image of Venus had been set up by the ancient persecutors on the spot where Christ had hung upon the cross, so that if any Christian came to worship Christ, he might appear to be worshipping Venus. Jerome (346–420) writes, *circa* 395 (*Ep. ad Paulinum*), that from the time of Hadrian to the reign of Constantine, there stood a statue of Jupiter in the place of the Resurrection, and one of Venus, in marble, on the rock of the Cross, which was worshipped by the people. "The instigators of the persecution thought that they would take away our faith in the resurrection and the cross if they defiled the holy places with idols."

¹ See Appendix 4; the references in other authors will be given later.

Paulinus of Nola (353-431), writing to Severus, says (*Ep.* xxxi) that Hadrian, "imagining that he could kill the Christian faith by defacing the place, consecrated an image of Jupiter on the site of the Passion." Sulpitius Severus (363-420) states that images of demons were set up both "in the temple and in the place where the Lord suffered." Ambrose (*b. circ.* 340) says, in a doubtful passage (*in Ps.* xlvii), that Christ suffered in the Venerarium (*i.e.*, the place where the statue of Venus was set up).

The conflicting statements of the Greek and Latin writers may, perhaps, be reconciled by supposing that during the early part of Constantine's reign the traditional sites of Golgotha and the Tomb were covered and hidden from view by an artificial platform, upon which, immediately above the Tomb, stood a temple of Venus (Aphrodite)¹ containing statues of the goddess and of Jupiter (Zeus). That in the latter part of the reign, Constantine's architect, who cut away the rock to obtain a level platform for the two great churches, left the two "holy places" standing up from the floor as separate masses of limestone. And that in after years, when the size and internal arrangement of the temple were forgotten, this isolation gave rise to the idea that each holy place had been intentionally defiled by the erection upon it of a statue of a heathen deity.² It may perhaps be inferred, from the discrepancy between Jerome and Paulinus with regard to the statue on the rock of the Cross, that there was no very definite tradition when they wrote.

The statements respecting the origin of the temple cannot be reconciled. The expressions "gloomy shrine"³ and "impious persons," used by Eusebius, convey the impression that he intended to describe a small temple, and not a building erected by Imperial command. When Eusebius wrote no one would have presumed to call one of the emperors an impious person. On the other

¹ I see no reason to doubt the accuracy of the Greek and Latin writers with regard to the deity. In a Roman colony a temple of Venus would be more natural than one dedicated to Astarte, and Eusebius would probably have mentioned the Syrian goddess if the building had been erected in her honour. The coins bearing a supposed representation of a temple of Astarte are no proof that that particular temple stood above the Tomb.

² The original form of the ground, and the distance apart of Golgotha and the Tomb, seem to exclude the theory that they were included in one temple, and that each had its special statue.

³ *σκότιος μυχός*; Socrates and Sozomen use the usual word *ναός*.

hand, the statement that the material for the substructures was obtained from some place outside the city (*ἔξωθ'*), and that the shrine stood on a paved platform, scarcely supports the view that the building was insignificant. Hadrian, whose name is mentioned in connection with the "holy places" by no Greek writer, is first introduced by Jerome and Paulinus, who wrote 60-70 years after the temple had been demolished. There is no proof that he built the temple of Venus; that he erected any temple at a place known in his time as Golgotha; or that he intended to build one above the tomb of Christ. It is very unlikely that Hadrian, who had confirmed and extended Trajan's policy of leniency towards the Christians, and who must have known how they had been persecuted by the Jews for not taking part in the revolt, would have intentionally insulted them by building a temple above the Tomb, or by setting up statues above the Tomb and the site of the Passion. On the other hand, it would be not unlike the ironical spirit of the Emperor to extend contemptuous toleration to those he considered wretched fanatics, and at the same time to cover up their holy places as a sort of sarcastic jest. It must also be remembered that Hadrian zealously patronised the Græco-Roman religious rites; and that, in erecting temples in the Oriental provinces of the empire his purpose was that they should act as constant reminders of the cult of Rome, and of the connexion between the provinces and the metropolis. The Emperor built the great temple of Venus and Rome at the capital, and temples of Venus at other places; and it is not unreasonable to suppose that he built one at Jerusalem in addition to the temple of Jupiter Capitolinus (*see* p. 52). If he did build a temple of Venus, the probability seems to be that the selection of the Tomb as its site was not intentional. The argument that because a temple of Jupiter was built on the site of the Temple, and a temple of Venus stood above the Tomb, the latter site was regarded by the Christians as a sacred place is unsound.

All authorities concur in the opinion that the defilement of the "holy places" was intentional; and admitting, for the sake of argument, that the positions of Golgotha and the Tomb were known¹ to Christians, Jews, and Pagans, it is quite conceivable that an attempt was made to cover them up and defile them during some period of persecution. If this was the case, the defilement was

¹ For the discussion of this question, *see* p. 57, *et seq.*

probably a spontaneous act on the part of the local authorities at a later period than the reign of Hadrian, and not due to an Imperial rescript.

5. Little is known of the history of *Ælia*¹ during the period A.D. 136–326. With the foundation of the new city the Jerusalem Church lost its distinctive Judæo-Christian character. Henceforward, under a succession of Gentile bishops, it was to fall more and more under the influence of Greek thought and sentiment. Not only did the Christians become more sharply separated from the Jews, but the Church eventually branded as heretics those Judæo-Christians, such as the Nazarenes or Ebionites, who held to the law, and rejected Paul as an exponent of Christianity. Even the place upon which the Temple of Jehovah had stood was, in course of time, regarded as profane.

The Christians no doubt suffered during the several persecutions, but they do not appear to have been specially molested. The long tenure of the Jerusalem bishopric by Narcissus (A.D. 190–222 ?); the foundation by his successor, Alexander (A.D. 213–251), of a library which was extant in the time of Eusebius (*H.E.*, vi, 20)²; the collection of books and manuscripts formed by Origen at Cæsarea (A.D. 231–253); and the pilgrimage of a lady mentioned by Cyprian,³ indicate that the Church grew and prospered in spite of persecution. Nothing occurred that would have led Christians, who knew the positions of Golgotha and the Tomb, to forget them.

In Jewish tradition, however, there may have been a break. Except, possibly, during the later years of the reign of Septimius Severus (A.D. 193–211), the order forbidding Jews to approach the city was strictly enforced, and there was no relaxation until the reign of Constantine. During this long period of 190 years the Jews may well have forgotten the exact positions of places that were of no special interest to them, although, possibly, a general idea of the direction in which they lay may have survived.

¹ The name *Ælia* so completely supplanted Jerusalem, that a Governor of Palestine, in the reign of Diocletian, is said to have asked what city the latter was (Eusebius, *De Mart. Pal.*, xi). Eusebius in his *History* calls the city *Ælia*, and in his *Life of Constantine* Jerusalem. For some years after Constantine's reign the two names were used together.

² Migne, *Pat. Gr.* xx, col. 572. Alexander was bishop coadjutor until the death of Narcissus.

³ *Ep.* 75. Migne, *Pat. Lat.*, iii, col. 1,164.

6. The brief epitome of the history of Jerusalem, which has been given above, strongly suggests the conclusion that if Golgotha and the Tomb were regarded by the early Christians as "holy places," or as of any special importance, the Church would have experienced no difficulty in preserving a knowledge of their positions until they were officially recovered by order of Constantine. Whether the attitude of the early Christians towards those places was such as to encourage the belief that the knowledge was preserved is another question. It is also apparent that, until the foundation of Ælia in A.D. 136, nothing occurred to break the continuity of any Jewish tradition connected with Golgotha.

The Attitude of the Early Christians towards Golgotha and the Tomb.

The discussion of this point is beset with difficulties. There is not in the works of any writer prior to the age of Constantine, so far as I am aware, the faintest shadow of a hint that the early Christians held the places of the Crucifixion and Burial in any special honour, that they offered prayers to God at them, or that they even knew where they were situated. This silence, which has thrown open a wild field for speculation, is suggestive, but not conclusive. At one extreme is the view of Chateaubriand,¹ that the Holy Sepulchre was honoured, under the name *Martyrium*, from the very birth of Christianity as a witness or testimony of the Resurrection; and at the other, the opinion of those who believe that to the early Christians the risen Lord was everything and the Tomb nothing. Between the two extremes lies the suggestion² that, although there was no special cult of the Holy Sepulchre in the first centuries of Christianity, it may well have happened that the small Christian community of Jerusalem, which was at enmity with and hated by the whole world, preserved the memory of places round which all their hopes of the fulfilment of prophecy were gathered. In which direction does probability lie? The first Christians were Jews, and this question must be considered

¹ *Hin. de Paris à Jérusalem*, "Introduction."

² Unger, *Die Bauten Constantin's des Grossen am heiligen Grabe zu Jerusalem*, pp. 20, 21. See also Guthe, Art. "Grab, das heilige," in Hauck's *Real. Encyk. für Prot. Theol.*, 3rd edition. Even if the first Christians, as spiritual followers of Christ, attached no importance to the scene of the Resurrection, it would have been contrary to human nature and custom to have forgotten it.

from the Judeo-Christian rather than from the Hellenic or Latin point of view.

Little is known of the rites and customs of the Jews connected with the burial of the dead; but it is at least certain that every Jew attached great importance to burial in the family tomb;¹ and this suggests the belief that the disciples and friends of Jesus did not intend the sepulchre of Joseph to be His permanent resting-place. The body was placed in it² because they were pressed for time,—the Sabbath was nigh, and the tomb was close at hand. According to John (xix, 39, 40) the body when taken down from the Cross was bound “in linen clothes with the spices, as the custom of the Jews is to bury”; and the preparation for burial, though hurried, was apparently complete.³ Matthew, Mark, and Luke state that the body was wrapped by Joseph in a linen sheet, but mention no spices. All four Evangelists describe the visit of the women to the Sepulchre on the first Sunday morning: Mark says that “when the Sabbath was past” the women “bought spices that they might come and anoint him”; Luke states that, after the entombment they “returned and prepared spices and ointments,” and that on the first day “they came unto the tomb, bringing the spices which they had prepared.” Matthew and John do not allude to the spices.⁴ The body was apparently laid on the rock-hewn bench which surrounded the ante-chamber;⁵ it was certainly not placed in a *loculus*.

¹ There was a common belief that if a Jew wished to be reunited with his family in *Sheol*, he must be buried in the family sepulchre. Even the bones of an executed criminal were removed from the common tomb to the family vault when the decomposition of the body was complete (*Quarterly Statement*, 1902, p. 142, note 1).

² Possibly Joseph, in begging the body from Pilate and placing it in his own grave, intended to save it from the indignity of burial in the common tomb, and to mark his profound feeling of respect for Jesus (*cf.* Gen. xxiii, 6; 2 Ch. xxiv, 16).

³ For what is known of Jewish burial customs, and their application to the question of Christ's burial, *see* articles by Bender in *Jewish Quarterly Review*, vols. 6 and 7; articles on Anointment, Burial, Tombs, Dead, Mourning Customs, &c., in Smith's *D.B.*; Hastings' *D.B.*; and *Encyc. Bib.*; and *Revue Biblique*, 1902, pp. 567, 568.

⁴ Matt. xxvii, 59; xxviii, 1; Mark xv, 46; xvi, 1; Luke xxiii, 53; xxiv, 1; John xix, 39, 40; xx, 1.

⁵ Such ante-chambers are common in the rock-hewn tombs of Palestine, and according to Cyril (*Cat.* xiv., 9; Migne, *Pat. Gr.* xxiii, col. 833), the traditional Holy Sepulchre had one, which was cut away when the church was built.

The usual explanations of the visit of the women are, that they intended to complete the burial by anointing the body and clothing it in the usual grave-clothes, or that they simply desired to spread spices over the body to counteract the effect of decomposition before the body was placed in a loculus. The anointment of a lacerated body which had lain in the tomb 36 hours—a period sufficient for incipient decomposition (*cf.* John xi, 39), is most unlikely, and is opposed to the little that is known of Jewish sentiment and custom. The other explanation is less open to objection; but it seems at least as probable that the motive of the women was the preparation of the body for removal in a bier (*σποός*, Luke vii, 14) to a family tomb, either at Bethany, Bethlehem, or on the slopes of the Mount of Olives.

The first Christians “had all things in common,” and “as many as were possessors of lands or houses sold them, and brought the prices of the things that were sold, and laid them at the Apostles’ feet” (Acts ii, 44, 45; iv, 34, 35; *cf.* v, 1–11). Joseph of Arimathea was a secret disciple of Christ (John xix, 38), and, according to tradition, he was one of those who went out as a missionary to the Gentiles. There is no reason to suppose that he acted differently to other Christians, and it is probable, if not certain, that, like Joseph, surnamed Barnabas,¹ he sold his property, including the garden and tomb, for the benefit of the common purse.

Visits to family tombs were not uncommon amongst the Jews. They were a tribute to the memory of those members of the family buried in the sepulchre, and were not unconnected with current beliefs respecting the dead. But a visit by a Jew, or by a Judæo-Christian, to an empty tomb for the purpose of prayer, is almost inconceivable in the early days of Christianity. Apart from this, it was the general belief amongst the first Christians that Jesus was alive, that He had been raised by God, and had become a heavenly being (“He is risen,” “He is ascended into heaven”); and many eagerly expected His immediate return to reign on earth, and so complete the death and resurrection. The early Christians needed no prayers at an empty tomb to remind them of their risen Lord, and it is not probable that they paid visits to places which, to those who had known Jesus in human form, must have been full of painful memories.

¹ The special mention of Barnabas is, perhaps, due to the fact that he was afterwards a companion of Paul.

Any cult of the Tomb during the early years of Christianity seems impossible,¹ but a change may perhaps have occurred after the return from Pella. The Jewish believers at Jerusalem maintained that a strict observance of the Mosaic law in its literal sense was essential to Christianity; their chief place of worship was the Temple (Acts ii, 46, xxi, 20-26); and, in greater or less measure, they adhered to the national and political forms of Judaism. After the destruction of the Temple, the law and tradition became everything to the Jew. What was the effect of the national disaster upon the Jewish believers? The Jerusalem Church lost its supremacy, but its members continued to regard compliance with the ceremonial law as essential, and efforts to impose the yoke of the law upon Gentile Christians did not cease until the third century.² The cessation of the Temple services probably led to a development of meetings for prayer in private houses (Acts i, 14; xii, 12), and in the synagogues or churches. No one can suppose that the rulers of the reconstructed church at Jerusalem sanctioned prayers at the Tomb, or anything in the form of a cult of "holy places." At that early period the spirituality of Christianity had not so completely expended its force as to render such an act probable or even possible.

It cannot be denied, however, that the return from Pella was an occasion which might reasonably give rise to visits to those places which were connected with the last days of Christ's life at Jerusalem. Such visits, due at first, perhaps, to curiosity, to a desire to see whether the operations of the great siege had altered the appearance of the localities, may in later years have been supplemented by prayers, and these simple acts may have gradually developed into a cult of Golgotha and the Tomb. There is, however, no evidence that any development, such as that suggested, took place; and there is nothing in the scanty records of pilgrimages before the Council of Nicea (A.D. 325) to suggest its probability.³

¹ Especially if, as has been suggested above, Joseph's tomb was never intended to be the permanent resting place of Christ's Body, and had, shortly after the Ascension, passed into other (non-Christian) hands.

² For the Judæo-Christians and "Jewish Christianity," see Harnack, *History of Dogma*, Eng. ed., i, 289-301; Ersch and Gruber, *All. Encyk. der Wissenschaften u. Künste*, Art. "Juden-Christen"; Williams' *Holy City*, i, 217-224.

³ As those who had known Christ in human form died, and His divinity more and more filled the thoughts of men, a cult of the Tomb seems less and less possible.

A more reasonable supposition is that the Christians resorted to the Mount of Olives, where Christ taught his disciples, and whence He ascended into heaven ; and there are some grounds for believing that this was the case. Eusebius, in a passage of great interest,¹ written before A.D. 325, says that people came from all parts of the earth to the Holy City, "to hear the story of Jerusalem," and to "worship on the Mount of Olives, over against Jerusalem, whither the glory of the Lord removed itself, leaving the earlier city." It is true that the historian describes what occurred in his own time ; but worship on Olivet was evidently of earlier origin,² and may have grown out of the visits which were almost certainly paid to the mount by the Christians who returned from Pella. There is no feature near Jerusalem to which a resident would more naturally resort to note the changes that had taken place during his temporary absence, or to point out to a friend the sites connected with the historic Jesus. The city, exposed to view in all its details, lies at the feet of the spectator. Is it not also a fair inference, from the absence of any allusion to the Tomb by Eusebius, that the place of Christ's burial was not known when he wrote, or, at any rate, that it was not a "holy place"?

It is most improbable that visits to, or any cult of, the Tomb originated with the early Gentile Christians. The whole spirit of Paul's teaching is opposed to the view that they attached any importance to material objects connected with the life of Christ. It is of the Risen Lord that Paul speaks, rather than of the historic Jesus. The Christ of the Epistles is "not an earthly but a heavenly figure." To the early Christians it was not of pressing importance "to be acquainted with the life of Jesus on the earth." Their thoughts "were fixed on the heavenly Christ, in whose career the earthly appearance of Christ was a mere transitory, though an important, episode."³ Their minds were set "on things that are above, not on the things that are upon the earth."⁴ Even the

¹ *Dem. Ev.*, vi, 18, see Appendix (5).

² According to Eusebius, see Appendix (5), "God established it, in the place of the earthly Jerusalem and of the services which used to be held there, after the destruction of Jerusalem."

³ Menzies, *The Earliest Gospel*, pp. 6-9, where the attitude of the early Christians is well put. See also Harnack, *l.c.*, pp. 82-87.

⁴ Boret takes a different view:—"It is true that such was the point of view of St. Paul, and doubtless of the other Apostles. But one would deceive oneself if one attributed the same spirituality to the masses which, from

earthly Jerusalem had given place to that of which it is written, "Jerusalem which is above is free, which is the mother of us all."

No record of a pilgrimage to Jerusalem, during the first three centuries, by any Christian from the West has survived; but Eusebius states¹ that Alexander, a Cappadocian bishop, who succeeded Narcissus as Bishop of Jerusalem, visited the Holy City, *circa* A.D. 212, "in consequence of a vow, and for the sake of information in regard to its places" (τῶν τόπων ἱστορίας). Origen went to Jerusalem, the Jordan Valley, and Sidon (A.D. 226-253), partly, at least, to investigate the footsteps of Jesus and of his disciples and of the prophets;² and in the time of Eusebius pilgrims visited Jerusalem to hear the story of the city, and to worship on the Mount of Olives (*see* p. 61). The *Cave of the Nativity* at Bethlehem is referred to by Origen,³ and Eusebius alludes⁴ to the cave on Olivet near which Christ taught his disciples. The site of the house at which the Apostles met after the Ascension appears also to have been known, and to have been occupied by a church which, according to a fourth-century tradition, existed in the reign of Hadrian.⁵ No other sacred localities are mentioned. The absence of any allusion to Golgotha or the Tomb, in passages such as the above, which might naturally be expected to contain some reference to them, is most marked, and suggests that their exact positions were unknown to the writers, or that they attached no importance to them.

The attitude of Christians during the first three centuries to Golgotha and the Tomb is, in truth, a matter upon which no one can speak with any certainty. I can only express my personal belief that sacred localities, as we deem them, had little attraction to the early Christians; that the Jerusalem Church attached no

Pentecost onwards, composed the Christian Church. . . . One might with much more reason suppose that the Jewish Christians of Jerusalem already attached a particular interest, perhaps even an exaggerated importance, to the sacred places in their midst" (*Voyage en Terre Sainte*, 3rd edition, pp. 193, 194).

¹ *H.E.*, vi, 11, § 2.

² Origen, *in* *Joan* vi, 24; Migne, *Pat. Gr.* xiv, col. 269; *Hom. in Josh.* xvi, 2.

³ *Contra Celsum* i, 51; Migne, *Pat. Gr.* xi, col. 756.

⁴ *Dem. Ev.* vi, 18, *see* Appendix (5).

⁵ Epiphanius, *De Mens. et Pond.* xv, Migne; *Pat. Gr.* xliii, col. 261. This may well have been the case if the house was on the western spur outside the limits of the Roman Camp (*Quarterly Statement*, 1902, p. 380).

importance to them; that no steps were taken to preserve a knowledge of the position of those connected with the Crucifixion and Resurrection; that the Church would have discouraged anything in the nature of reverence to the Tomb; and that, even amongst the less spiritual-minded members of the community, the survival of a tradition relating to Golgotha and the Tomb is improbable, although not, perhaps, impossible. The Christians of the first century, at least, could hardly fail to remember the great principle of their Master's teaching: "The hour cometh, when neither in this mountain, nor in Jerusalem, shall ye worship the Father. . . . God is a Spirit: and they that worship him must worship in spirit and truth" (John iv, 21-24).

APPENDIX.

(1) EUSEBIUS (*Dem. Ec.* viii, 3).—"Therefore shall Zion for your sake be plowed as a field, and Jerusalem shall become heaps" (Micah iii, 12), which prophecy was never truly fulfilled at any time except after they dared to do violence to our Saviour. From that time to this present day these places have lain utterly desolate, and the Mount Sion, which once was the most famous of them all—instead of the ancient meditations and practice of the prophetic and divine oracles which aforetime were set forth in that place with great zeal by Hebrews, men who walked with God, prophets, priests, and rulers of the whole nation—now differs in nothing from the country round about it, and is ploughed and tilled by Romans, and we ourselves have seen the labour of the oxen and the crops For Jerusalem, being inhabited by strangers, even at this day furnishes stones to those who gather them, seeing that all those who in our own time dwell therein collect stones from her ruins, both from private and from public buildings, and we may see with our eyes the saddest of all sights—stones being taken from the Temple itself, and from what once was the Holy of Holies itself (τοὺς ἐξ αὐτοῦ τοῦ ἱεροῦ καὶ αὐτῶν τῶν ἀδύτων καὶ ἁγίων λίθους), to build shrines for idols and places for shows, where all the people may assemble. These things being beheld by all men, clearly prove that the New Law and the New Testament instituted by our Saviour Jesus Christ has departed from thence (Migne, *Pat. Gr.* xxii, col. 636).

(2) *Chronicon Paschale*, A.D. 119.—In the time of these consuls the Jews revolted, and Adrian went to Jerusalem. He took the Jews captive, went to the place called the Terebinth, and held an assembly (πανήγυρις). He sold them for slaves at the price of a horse per man. Those who were left he took to Gaza, and there held an assembly and sold them. That assembly is to this day called Adrian's assembly. He

pulled down the temple (*ναός*) of the Jews at Jerusalem and built the two public halls (or market places), the theatre, the Triameron, the Tetranympion, and the Dodekapylon, formerly called the "Steps," and the Kodra, and he divided the city into seven quarters, and appointed a head-man for each quarter, and each quarter is called by the name of its head-man to this day. He also gave his own name to the city, and called it *Ælia*, seeing that he was named *Ælius Adrianus*. (Migne, *Pat. Gr.* xcii, cols. 613, 616.)

(3) Sulpitius Severus (*Hist. Sac.* ii, 31).—At this time Adrian, thinking that he would destroy the Christian faith by inflicting an injury upon the place, set up the images of daemons, both in the temple and in the place where the Lord suffered. And because the Christians were thought principally to consist of Jews (for the Church at Jerusalem did not then have a priest except of the circumcision), he ordered a cohort of soldiers to keep constant guard, in order to prevent all Jews from approaching to Jerusalem. . . . Mark from among the Gentiles was then, first of all, bishop at Jerusalem. (From Wace and Schaff, *Nicene and post-Nicene Fathers*, vol. xi; Migne, *Pat. Lat.* xx, cols. 146, 147. See also Just. Mart., *Apol.* i, 47; Tertullian, *Adv. Jud.* xv; Eusebius, *Theophania*, p. 249.)

(4) Eusebius (*Vit. Const.* iii, 26).—For impious men (or, rather, the whole race of evil spirits by their means) set themselves to consign to darkness and oblivion that Divine monument of immortality This cave of salvation did certain ungodly and impious persons determine to hide from the eyes of men, foolishly imagining that they would in some such way as this conceal the truth. Having expended much labour in bringing in earth from outside (*ἐξωλέν*), they cover up the whole place; and then, having raised this to a moderate height, and having paved it with stone, they entirely conceal the Divine cave beneath a massive mound. Next . . . they prepare above-ground a dreadful thing, a veritable sepulchre of souls, building to the impure demon, called Aphrodite, a gloomy shrine of lifeless idols, and offering their foul oblations on profane and accursed altars. For in this way only . . . did they suppose that they would accomplish their purpose, even by concealing the cave of salvation by means of those detestable abominations. (From *Churches of Constantine in Jerusalem*, Pal. Pilgrims' Text Society series; Migne, *Pat. Gr.* xx, col. 1085.)

(5) Eusebius (*Dem. Ev.* vi, 18).—This Mount of Olives is said to stand over against Jerusalem, that is, answering to it, because God established it in the place of the earthly Jerusalem and of the services which used to be held there, after the destruction of Jerusalem. . . . This we may see, from another point of view, fulfilled to the letter even to this day, when all believers in Christ flock together from all quarters of the earth, not as of old to behold the beauty of Jerusalem, or that they may worship in the former temple which stood in Jerusalem, but that they

may abide there, and both hear the story of Jerusalem and also worship in the Mount of Olives over against Jerusalem, whither the glory of the Lord removed itself, leaving the earlier city. There also, according to the published record, the feet of our Lord and Saviour, who was Himself the Word, and through it took upon Himself human form, stood upon the Mount of Olives, near the cave which is now pointed out there. There He prayed, and on the top of the Mount of Olives communicated the mysteries of the Christian covenant, and from thence also He ascended into heaven, as we are taught by Luke in the Acts of the Apostles. (Migne, *Pat. Gr.* xxii, col. 457, 458).

THE IMMOVABLE EAST.

By PHILIP G. BALDENSPERGER, Esq.

INTRODUCTION.

WITH but few exceptions, Palestine has remained what it was since the days when first we hear of its existence: "The land that I will shew thee" (Gen. xii, 1). In the following description great pains have been taken to describe the manners, customs, everyday objects, clothes, and so forth of the people of the Holy Land, "Maḳâdsy," as they are styled by Arabic-speaking people out of the country, and to compare them with those of the former inhabitants—the Jews (Jehûd), not excluding the earlier dwellers in the land.

The most striking feature in the East, especially to the traveller, is the difference in the clothing of the various classes, which almost make them seem like separate nations, from the serene Effandi,¹ in his fur overcoat and spotless white turban, to the spare and almost naked Bedawy, in his short shirt and almost colourless and dirty *Keffiyeh* or headcloth. The Franjy appears here and there in the towns, and is at once recognised, not merely by his European clothing, which has been generally adopted, but more especially by his hat, the hated *burneîyah*. Franjy, a corruption of Frank, was the official name of Roman Catholics or Western Christians. Protestants were unknown to the masses up to the time of the

¹[Or rather, Effendi, as the word is more commonly known. It is the Greek *ἐπίτροπος* in Turkish garb.]

Crimean War, and still in some degree up to as late as 1870. The Russians or Mosḵôb are known as the ancient enemies of the Empire. The Armenians are Turkish subjects. By degrees the several nations of the West became known, first in the towns, and then in a few villages around important centres; but to the mass of the people, and especially in out-of-the-way villages, the Christians are known only as Naṣṣâra, or Nazarenes, a nation opposed to Islam. The Crimean War showed the French and English as separate nations, although the English had already become known in Jerusalem by the establishment of the Anglican bishopric, and Protestants were all termed Ingliz. The Austrians are designated by the name of Namsâ, which was formerly also the generic name for the Germans. The Spaniards and Italians made known their existence, the former by the Spanish pillar dollar (ريال ابو عمود), so current some thirty or forty years ago, and the latter by the Franciscan schools. The "Mallakan," or Americans, became known through the settlers, who were forerunners of the Germans, at Jaffa, and the latter, together with the fame of the Franco-German War, changed the name Namsâ into Brussian. The latest comers were the Jewish settlers, who began to arrive about 1880, owing to their persecution in Russia. In the country districts the Jehûd were before known only as pilgrims, with their long flowing garments, their curls on their temples, and their dirty woebegone appearance. They now appear in a new style, which has brought them up to the level of Christian settlers, and through all these movements the people of the country have become aware that many nations exist beyond the seas, each speaking a different language from their own, and belonging to different creeds. But all these are "outlanders," and have, in reality, nothing to do with the older inhabitants of the country—the Maḵâdsy, Jews, and Canaanites. Meanwhile the Christian indigenous population also have emancipated themselves to some extent, by wearing the *ṭarbûsh* without the turban, and by taking to the European mode of clothing, the hat alone excepted. This national feature, the *ṭarbûsh*, marks the great line of distinction, the watershed, as it were, between Orientals and Occidentals.

As the country is gradually being improved, it is necessary to go back for a moment to the sixties of last century, and banish from our thoughts such innovations as carriage roads, the first of

which was made in 1869, to receive the Austrian Emperor and other princes, who were present at the opening of the Suez Canal.

Strictly speaking, the population is divided into three great and quite distinct classes :—The townsmen, Madaniyeh (مدنيّة), the fellâhîn (فلاحين), and the Bedû (بدو), or 'Arab (عرب) for the plural form. These last-mentioned are always called Bedawîn in European books, but in the country they are known only as Bedawy in the singular and 'Arab in the plural, the latter name, as remarked by Colonel Conder, being used by the Bedawîn and the former by the settled population (*Quarterly Statement*, July, 1901, p. 252).

According to a legend current amongst the natives, the origin of the division of classes goes back to the time of the founder of Islam. A man had four sons, whom he wished to start in life, each according to his own inclination. So he called them together and said to them: "My sons, you are now old enough to look after yourselves; choose whatever pleases you, and leave your home." The eldest, Abu Aḥmad, chose a cow and a plough, and became the father of the tillers or Fellahîn. Abu Râzeḳ, the second, asked for a shop, and became father of the possessors, as his name indicates, and of the traders in towns. Abu 'Othmân, the third, took a horse, and became father of the intrepid horsemen, the Ottoman Turks. Abu Swêlem (أبو سويلم), the last, rode off on a camel, and became father of the camel-possessing Bedawîn. In common conversation these four classes are now often referred to by the above nick-names. They differ from one another in appearance, costume, habits, and character, and must be studied separately. We propose, accordingly, to commence with the townsman :—

CHAPTER I.—ABU RÂZEḲ, THE BUSINESS MAN.

The townspeople call themselves Madaniyeh or Ḥaḍar.¹ In Palestine proper the chief towns are Jerusalem, Jaffa, Ramleh, Lydd, Hebron, Gaza, and Nâblus, though some large villages claim the name of Ḥaḍar, such as Kûryet el 'Enab, Bir Ma'in, and others. The Madany is of a commercial turn of mind, but artisans are

¹ It is explained from a root meaning to be ready, or present, always in one place, ready for the women to hide their faces.

numerous in towns. Persons of the same calling usually have their shops in the same street, but in Jerusalem and Jaffa there is a tendency to spread about in every direction.

Every Oriental town has its Apothecaries' or Perfumers' Street, its Butchers' Street, Shoemakers' Street, and so forth. The grouping of the people of the same calling in one street renders advertisements unnecessary, as everyone knows where to find the shops he wants. Newspapers in the Arabic language are not printed in Palestine. All the Arabic papers are published in Syria or in Egypt, and even these are not much read by the inhabitants of Palestine towns—at least not by the trading and working classes, who are mostly illiterate. The upper ten, or Effendiye, generally read, write, and speak as correctly as possible, omitting all slang expressions, speaking slowly and clearly, and giving every letter its right pronunciation. They are still to a great extent the rich landowners, and, together with the Turkish officials,¹ form the most influential class in municipal and Government matters. They address each other, or Arabic-speaking Europeans, with the complimentary title, "thy highness" or "thy excellency" (حضرتك *hadertak*), whilst in general the second person singular, "thou," is used.

Turning to the traders and artisans we find that the most indispensable is:—

(a) The grocer, called *Samnân* in Palestine, and *Bakhlâl* in Egypt. The former term is derived from *samm*, butter prepared for culinary purposes. He sells all kinds of dry fruits, and olive and sesame oil. The *shamn* (*sh'men*) of the Hebrews included every fatty substance, and when olive oil was expressly meant the word *zayith* (the Arabic *zait*) was employed in addition.² Almost all the buying and selling are done in the street, as the shops are usually too small to admit more than one person, viz., the owner, who thus overlooks his goods, which are in huge baskets before him, so that his customers are served outside without his stepping out of the shop. As already remarked, the towns of more importance, as Jerusalem, Jaffa, and Haifa, are being rapidly transformed, and broader streets and larger

¹ This is the class alluded to by the prophet Isaiah (Isaiah xxix, 10-14).

² So when Moses commands pure olive oil to be taken, he calls it זַיִתֹּן (Exod. xxvii, 20, and Lev. xxiv, 2); and the Holy Land is called אֶרֶץ זַיִתֹּן וְחָלָב, "a land of olive-oil and honey" (Deut. viii, 8).

shops are, under European influence, making their way. The Mohammedan quarters of these towns, and of all minor towns, have remained very much as they were in ancient times.

(b) The perfumers' street, *Hâret il-'atârîn* (حارة العطارين), as the name indicates, smells of Oriental spices a good way off. All kinds of spices are sold in it, and the shops are even more tiny than those of the grocers; often the shopkeeper can barely turn around in them. The perfumer can reach almost any of his articles, kept as they are in the oval wooden boxes piled up on the shelves, without getting up from his seat, and many of the goods are stowed under the seat. Thus he sits in the midst of his merchandise, whilst in front of him is the mortar and pestle, ever ready to pound cinnamon, pepper, &c. The oval boxes on the shelves bear a label indicating, in Arabic handwriting, their contents, as the perfumer generally belongs to the more educated class. As the streets are very narrow, two persons can hardly walk abreast, and progress, owing to the crowd, is very slow, a circumstance which the shopkeeper takes advantage of to praise his goods, and to intimate that he can sell them cheaper than his next neighbour, and that they are more genuine. All equestrian outfits, as Arab saddles, bridles, Bedawin boots, and tassels of Damascus manufacture, adorn and almost close up the entrance of the shops, and, as they project into the street, these often reach the goods of a similar merchant opposite. A ride through those streets is, therefore, exceedingly disagreeable both to horseman and perfumer, to say nothing of the passers-by. Ask a perfumer whether he has any article, he always answers in the affirmative, even though he has to get it from a neighbour, and hence the proverb, "Everything is to be had at the perfumer's, except love me by force" (كل شيء عند العطار إلى حبيتي غصب).

If business taking any length of time is on hand, a low stool is placed in the street, and, in less time than it takes to write this, the coffee-house keeper round the corner receives a hint, hurries along with a coffee-pot and some tiny cups in his hands, and offers the introductory cup, without which no serious business is undertaken. When this has been partaken of, mostly on the shopkeeper's account, business is proceeded with. Gunpowder and all hunting materials are to be had, as well as seeds of all kinds for the agriculturist, and medicines, for the perfumer is often also a bit of a quack. The shopkeepers pull down a network curtain over the entrance

of their shops when on an errand or at prayers; nobody ever approaches them then, and thefts are practically unknown.

(c) The coffee-shop (*kahwy*) is generally at the corner of some important street, and is the meeting-place of all strangers, Fellah or Bedawy, when they have finished their business. Here everybody, whether friend or foe, is expected to be found, and as a consequence of the usefulness of these establishments, they are not all confined to one place, but are spread over the whole town, and are to be found especially near the gates. With those at the gates a *khan* (خان) is usually combined, where the animals can be left in the vast stables for a few coppers, whilst the owners go about their business in the town. In the coffee-house business transactions are easily carried on, and secrets confided, as the voices are drowned by the loud talking on all sides, the sipping of the hot coffee-cup, and the bubbling of the water in the *argileh* (this is the Palestine pronunciation, without an initial *n*), especially as the two persons are seated on low chairs close to each other.

The gate is the most natural place to meet anyone coming to town or going back to the country, and therefore Boaz met his kinsman there (Ruth iv, 1). The street gatherings were the most solemn ones; discourses and speeches were of course public, as they still are, everyone can thus attend them, and large halls are dispensed with. King Hezekiah brought the Levites into the street to consult with them (2 Chron. xxix, 4). Ezra assembled the people into the street before the temple (Ezra x, 9), and before the Water Gate (Neh. viii, 1). Job in his affliction longs for the days when he could go down and sit in the street (Job xxix, 7), as every citizen now does, to "smell the air."

(d) The establishment of the barber, *Halák* (حلاق), is sometimes combined with the coffee shop, as most people meet there, and not only often desire to be shaved, but find in the barber a medicine man, who has leeches, or who bleeds them by cutting the ears with his sharp razors. The Moslems, both of the town and country, have the hair of the head, as well as the sides of the beard—that is, below the chin and on the cheeks—shaved. The Madány calls the shaving *halek*. The Levites were ordered not to make any "baldness on their heads, neither shave the corner (or side) of the beard" (Lev. xxi, 5), as the modern barber does. The Fellahin do not use the term *halek*, but say *tazyin* (تزيين), that is,

“beautifying” or “adorning,” and we may conclude that this beautifying is an innovation among the country people, though perhaps as old as Islam. It is clear, however, that it has not always existed. Trimming the hair was practised with the scissors, *Mekass* (مقص), and frequently a Fellah may yet say for “cut my hair,” *Kuṣṣ rāsi* (lit., “cut my head”), meaning “shave my head.” Job, when he received the bad news of the destruction of his family and animals, follows the same usage (Job i, 20, וַיִּגְזַן אֶת־רֹאשׁוֹ). Absalom had his hair (lit., his head) cut once a year (2 Sam. xiv, 26), and the shaving of the hair on special occasions—*e.g.*, in times of mourning—is well known to all. Modern razors are termed *Mās mehlāk* (موس محلّاق) in the towns, and *Mās Mizyān* (موس مزیان) in the country. The Israelites had also used two different terms for razor: (1) the *Ta‘ar* (תער), which was really nothing more than a knife; (2) the *Môrāh* (מורה), mentioned as early as in the days of the Judges (Judges xiii, 5, xvi, 17; 1 Sam. i, 11). The Fellahîn use their common knives to shave each other, for every Fellah is a barber, and does not need a “hired razor,” as was threatened to the Jews (Isaiah vii, 20).

(e) The greengrocer and the butcher are the noisiest of tradesmen in the towns. This is evidently in consequence of their intercourse with the fellahîn, who bring in the vegetables and who quarrel about the prices, with the dogs of the slaughter-house with which the butcher has to contend, as well as with the animals he slays.

The greengrocer, *Khudāri* (خضري), or, with a Turkish termination, *Khudārjy* (خضرجي), has to rise very early in the morning and waylay the vegetable-growing farmers on their way to the market, often miles before they reach the town. Especially is this the case at Jerusalem. Jaffa grows its vegetables close to the town, and the other towns are more agricultural, and have no need of the great supply which Jerusalem requires. In fact, Jerusalem receives vegetables from Jaffa, Ramleh, Gaza, and other places. The fellah defends his fruits and vegetables against the greengrocer, and with the more energy if the latter seems anxious to buy them. Quarrelling and screaming, they arrive in town, and the price agreed upon may often be refused, even when the fruit is already in the shop, when fresh shouting, cursing, and swearing take place; it is no

wonder, therefore, that the greengrocer is such a noisy fellow. The vegetables are arranged in heaps, and the fruit is not nicely put before the public as in Western cities; but this does not affect the buyers, who have never seen anything better. Many greengrocers have no time or energy to waste on the fellahîn, and a special class of middlemen, or brokers, viz.:—

(f) The *Matrabassiy*, or *Samassiy* (سماسرى), make a living out of this calling. In former times, when the gates of Jerusalem were not opened before sunrise, the *Samassiy* were exclusively from Neby Dâûd, outside the Zion Gate. Charcoal, wood, lime, and the like, are now commonly bought and sold by them. As the country became safer, they went further and further away, and may now often be seen in distant villages seeing what may possibly be sent to town, and paying the “earnest-money,” or ‘*Arrabôn* (عربون), which of course is lost, if the buyer afterwards changes his mind. In the Bible ‘*arabôn*, עֶרְבֹן, is only mentioned in Genesis xxxviii, 17, when Tamar took a “pledge” from Judah. This word was probably transported by the Phœnicians to Greece (ἀρραβών), and from the Greeks to Marseilles, whence it becomes the French “arrhes.” The difference between an ‘*arabôn*, or pledge (which is lost in case of the bargain not being fulfilled, or which is counted in the sum to be paid after deliverance of the article), and a *rahen* (رهن), which is generally an article to be held till payment of a debt, is great. The word *חבל* is used for it in the law of Moses. (Ex. xxii, [25] 26, cf. Job xxii, 6.) The pledge alluded to in Deuteronomy xxiv, 10–13, and Ezekiel xviii, 12, seems to have been a garment, for it is commanded “Thou shalt surely restore to him the pledge (עֶבֶת ‘*abit*) when the sun goeth down, that he may sleep in his own garment and bless thee.”

The *Samassiy* have much to do with the Jewish quarter, as Jews do not, as a rule, learn Arabic easily, although it is a kindred language of the Hebrew, and they certainly cannot pronounce it correctly. These brokers, therefore, learn the “Siknâjî,” or “Jiddish-Daitsch,” spoken by most East-European Jews. The Sephardim, on the other hand, have become very much Orientalised, and speak Arabic tolerably well, together with Jewish-Spanish and a little “Jiddish-Daitsch.” The middleman may be called a

necessary evil, well known to every family residing in Jerusalem, whether European or not.

(g) The butcher (*lahhām*) wears a blue overcoat of cotton cloth, and has his mutton and goats' flesh hanging in front of his shop, which is besieged by dogs, ever ready to snatch away odd bits. The Moslem butcher never sells veal or beef; camel's flesh is sold by some, and is known by its large size and dirty yellow colour. The shop is tolerably clean. The meat is cut up on huge wooden blocks standing in front, and it is required for *Mūhshi* (موشى), the favourite dish of all townspeople; it is chopped small on a board with great dexterity in a very few minutes.

In Jerusalem the animals were formerly killed in the town near where the German "Erlöserkirche" now stands, but some years ago the slaughtering place, or *Meslakh* (مسليخ), *lit.*, "skinning place," was transferred beyond the walls of the city, as the population grew more dense and the outside became more safe. The older name *mīdhbah* (مذبح), which also means an altar, is rarely used now.

The *Meslakh* was at first in the open air outside the dung-gate, but has been recently removed to the north-east of the city, where a proper building has been erected for it. It is surrounded by filth, and attracts dogs and vultures by day, jackals, and even hyænas, by night. The dogs lying about the slaughtering-place are the laziest of their kind, and do not bark at the approach of strangers. Soiled with blood and filth, and gorged with food, they claim a sort of proprietorship of the *Meslakh*. The proverb is quite right which says: *Zey klāb el-Meslakh bitmanā el-jāa' war-rāḥat* (زبي كلاب المسليخ . يتمنوا الجوع والراحة) : "As the dogs of the slaughtering place, they long for hunger and rest." The prophet Isaiah (lvi, 10), in speaking of lazy watchmen, alludes to these dogs which do not watch. "They are all dumb dogs, they cannot bark; sleeping, lying down, loving to slumber." The dogs lying about are a very useful feature of Eastern towns, veritable hygienic police, as they lick up all blood, and eat bits of food which fall (1 Kings xxi, 19, 23). These dogs are found everywhere in the town, and have quite a regular organisation of their own; every dog knows his quarter, and lives and dies there. One

is leader of the gang, composed of a dozen or more, who tolerate no others in their district. Any strange dog is at once detected and chased by the whole band. This state of affairs is certainly very old. In the parable of the rich man and Lazarus (Luke xvi, 21) the familiar street dogs knew the mendicant and licked his sores. When the leader grows old a second mate takes the leadership, and becomes absolute master when the old one dies. The bitches have their young ones in some out-of-the-way corner of the street, and those of the new generation who manage to escape the many dangers which lurk in their way as they grow up—in shape of boys ill-using them, or animals of greater size stamping on them, and breaking their limbs as they push past in the narrow streets—fill up the missing street contingent. The dogs may know more particularly one or other of the shopkeepers or passers-by, but their affection is chiefly set on their street or quarter. A man also may have a liking for one of the dogs, usually the leader, and will speak kind words to him occasionally, but never caress him by putting his hand on him. The dog is essentially unclean to Moslems, and the native Christians partake of the same disgust. In the beginning of the seventies of last century, a dog, known by the name of Tūbbal, was leader of a gang inside the Jaffa Gate. His sway extended down to the greengrocers' street at the end of Christian Street, and around the Tower of Hippicus, the military barracks, and the little street north of the English Church. Everybody in the quarter knew Tūbbal, who was as proud as he was ugly, with his crooked leg and one eye, both of which injuries he had received in a terrible "frontier skirmish" from the dogs of the Latin-Patriarchate quarter. His rough, unkempt hair, and large head with short ears, gave him some resemblance to a hyæna, but his uncertain colour—a dirty yellow mixed with greyish-white—showed him to be the real typical dog of the Jerusalem streets. These dogs not only pick up all edible rubbish which they can digest, but also keep sharp watch at night, and bark at any suspicious shadow or unaccustomed noise, and, in short, behave as if they were absolute masters of the streets. The Psalmist felt how disagreeable they were at night, for of his enemies he says: "They return at evening; they make a noise like a dog, and go round about the city" (Psalm lix, 6). The food they pick up is scanty to those who are not favourites, or who are in bad streets. The dogs in the butchers' street always find bones or odd bits of

meat more plentiful than those in the shoemakers' street. They receive some food from the shopkeepers, but the better a town is kept the less they find to eat, and the time is fast disappearing when carcases were thrown into some ruined house and the dogs feasted on it. Hunger is their lot, and "they shall wander up and down for meat, and tarry all night if they be not satisfied" (Psalm lix, 15).

(h) The bakers (*khubbār*, sing.) are not all confined to one street as in the days of the kings of Judah, when Jeremiah in prison received daily a loaf of bread from the bakers' street (Jerem. xxxvii, 21). They have their ovens in some out-of-the-way place, partly so as not to annoy the neighbours with the smoke, and partly because they require space for the thorns and bushes with which they heat their ovens. These ovens, called *furn*, are not the old ovens, and are perhaps the cause why the bakers are no longer in one street. The *furn* is an innovation of Crusading days, from the French "fourneau" (Lat., *furnus*). The Jewish ovens were smaller, and were called *tannūr*, such as are now used in the country places under the name of *ṭabān*, or *tannūr*. The inhabitants of the towns never bake their bread at home, but send the dough to the ovens, and have it baked for 10 paras, i.e., about a halfpenny, the whole being eaten by the family in the same day. "Send the bread to the baker, even if he eat the half," is a saying meaning, "Better to have bread thoroughly baked, even though the weight be less."

In Ramleh and Lydda the women prepare the dough and watch for the first passer-by who is not a stranger to carry it to the oven, wait till it is ready, and bring it back to the house. Of course he does not receive more than "Thank you," even if he gets so much.

Bread is also sold in the streets by men carrying it about on boards, and calling out "Bread; warm bread; cakes," and so forth. The loaf of bread is small and flat, hardly enough for a meal. The cakes are of whiter flour, and sprinkled with roasted sesame seeds; they are sold as cheap as bread—that is, 5 and 10 paras a piece. The cakes of the townsman are not the same as the *ka'k* (كك) of the country people, who call the unleavened loaves prepared in haste *ka'k*. These answer to the *'uḡḡāh*, or cake, which the angel prepared for Elijah sleeping under the juniper tree (1 Kings xix, 6). The town cakes are bought by all classes and eaten in the streets.

(i) The confectioner, *Ḥalawān*, is known in all towns, selling pies and sweets as *mutababak*, made of a thin paste, almonds, and

nuts, sweetened with honey or sugar, and folded together several times, as the name indicates, and forming a thick, luscious cake. The *fellaḥîn* also make such sweets, but of coarser kind. The *baklâwy* is a Turkish cake of almond and sugar cut in small lozenges. It is sold by weight, and eaten mostly in the shop dripping with sugar and fat. The *tamriyeh* is, as the name shows, made of dates, and is also sold in small square cakes. It is a little drier and cheaper than the above, and sells for 10 paras a piece, whilst the others are two or three times as dear; the sellers go about with it and call it out in the streets. The *knâfyeh* is a very fat and sweet paste, with nuts; it is sold by weight. The *ma'mâl* is a dry, conical cake, made of semolina, stuffed with pistachios, and sprinkled with dry sugar. This is also made at home, and figures at the meal of the principal feasts, especially at Easter. The *hallâwy* is made of honey and sesame flour in large masses, and cut with large knives for sale by weight. There are different kinds of this *hallâwy*, made with sesame seeds, and called *hallâwy simsomîyeh*, or with nuts and called nut *hallâwy*, &c. The *karâbeej ḥalab* (كرابيج حلب), as the name indicates, are an Aleppo invention: oval cakes, about the size of an egg, made of semolina stuffed with nuts and pistachios, and drowned in a thick semi-liquid white sugar cream. It is sold at about 20 paras a piece, and is amongst the dearest of these sweets. The well-known *raḥat el-ḥalkôm* (راحة الحلقوم), of Damascus manufacture, renowned as "Turkish delight," is sold in round wooden boxes, or retailed at 5 paras a piece. Though most of those sweets are sold in the shops, all in one street, they are also retailed in the streets by men carrying them on copper trays, especially during the long Ramaḍân evenings, when night is almost turned to day, and when the savings of the whole year are so readily spent. People who all the year do not taste sweets now indulge in them. The Israelites also made various kinds of sweetmeats, such as the *šimmûḳîm* (or cakes of raisins) of Abigail, and the *reḥîḳîm* (the *raḥîḳ* of the Bedonins), also the *lēbibâh*, which Tamar prepared for Amnon, and others.

(k) The miller (*ṭaḥḥân*) is only known in or about towns, as in the country every house has its own mill. The horse-mills are generally in obscure streets and underground—perhaps a survival of the times when they were driven by prisoners of war. Samson was made to grind in the prison-house (Judges xvi, 21), and the prophet

Jeremiah laments for the young men who have to grind (Lam. v, 13) as prisoners of war. In towns the wheat is carried to the mill, and is ground for 10 or 15 paras the *rotl* (about 6 lbs.). In the Plain of Sharon, along the River 'Anjeh, there are water-mills belonging to the Government; the fellahin of the plain carry their wheat there, as the hand-mill process is getting too slow in these busy days, when even the fellah is beginning to grasp the idea of "Time is money." The large mills, as well as the hand-mills, are called *tahunet*, the root of which, meaning "to grind," is found in the Hebrew of the passages above mentioned. But the Hebrew hand-mill was called *rêhayin* (Num. xi. 8). The name it still bears in many places in Egypt is *rahâ* (رحى).

(To be continued.)

SCULPTURED FIGURES FROM THE MURISTAN, AND OTHER NOTES.

By the Rev. J. E. HANAUER.

I.—ON p. 145 of the *Quarterly Statement* for April, 1900, Dr. Schick mentions the finding in the Muristan¹ of "several interesting carved stones," and promises, "if God permits," to report more fully in his next, and illustrate with drawings.

In the July number, under the heading "Notes and News," p. 195, these stones are again referred to. We read, "the stones of an arch have figures in relief upon them, one being that of a kneeling man, with bow and arrow, and behind him an animal like a lion." I am now sending photographs which I have taken of this group. One shows plainly that the animal is not a lion, but a wolf. It is further stated that Dr. Schick and I believe "the signs of the Zodiac to have been represented, as on the arch at the

¹ [Dr. Schick described these stones as found in the Muristan, at a depth of from 25 to 28 feet below the surface, in a small piece of ground "south of the Gethsemane Convent" (south of the courtyard of the Church of the Holy Sepulchre). They were not *in situ*, but lying about in the débris, with other squared stones and some large capitals. He believed them to have been parts of the arch over the entrance to the Church which stood over the cisterns found by Sir Charles Warren (see *Recovery of Jerusalem*, p. 270).]

northern entrance to the Church of St. Mary, which is now in possession of the Germans."



FIG. 1.—Sculptured Figure from the Muristan.

I now venture to suggest that the group described represents the constellations of Sagittarius and Lupus. The Wolf is indeed

not one of the star-groups in the Zodiac, but the sculptor has put the animal into his composition from artistic license, and with great effect, as the picture shows. I have indeed heard it suggested that the sculpture does not represent the Zodiacal Archer, but Actæon and one of his hounds, as well as the tree (either laurel or pine) of Artemis. This, however, is an opinion which I cannot endorse, because, in the first place, I think it most unlikely that Actæon would ever be represented as looking upwards; and secondly, the fierce, gaunt form of the wild beast and the thick tail (unfortunately not visible in the photograph) characterise and identify it as a specimen of *Canis Lupus*.

Besides the group above described, there have been found the headless and legless remains of Leo, with his characteristic tail, and the bust of Virgo, her face and head mutilated.

Another group may possibly represent Gemini. If this is the case, it is remarkable that the dress of the twins is not the same. One wears a great cloak (out of sight in the photo), and the other a large helmet, and a garb somewhat resembling that of a Roman soldier. In his hand he holds something like a bag. The two figures seem to be kissing. Is it a representation of Jacob meeting Esau, or perhaps even of Judas, the traitor, saluting Christ?

These stones and some other carvings and capitals are at present piled up in the hall through which one enters the Convent of St. Abraham, near the Church of the Holy Sepulchre. The place is very dark, and the photos I send were taken under great difficulty. The sculptured "Twins" evidently formed part of an outer corner of the building. The hair of the Bowman, and the conventionalised foliage are mediæval drill-work.

II.—I spent a couple of days lately in the company of Dr. Peters, under the kind guidance of Mr. Grant, in roaming about in the vicinity of Rāmallah. The great Khan at El-Bīreh seems well worthy of closer examination than we had time to give it. I do not know where to find a plan of it. It seems to belong to two different dates. Several of the piers bearing the vaults are of the Crusading period, showing distinctly the diagonal dressing, and, as a characteristic mason-mark, the double triangle. The most northerly bay or aisle, on the other hand, seems to be Saracenic, and has mason-marks of its own, a different mark for each respective course. Thus all the stones in one course, for instance, would each

be marked, we would say, with ☒, the next course having another mark, say ☐, on each single stone, and so on. This peculiar usage seems rare enough to deserve special mention.

The whole of one forenoon was spent in visiting the ruins at Khirbet Kefr Shiyân, or Shiyâl, west of Râmallah, and of Khirbet 'Ain Sôba or Sibya (عين صوبه or عين صبيه). The whole plan of the former town can be clearly traced, the massive buildings (of the Byzantine period apparently) being arranged on either side of the clearly-defined street running up the hillsides. Besides the remains noticed in the *Memoirs*, we remarked a small pool at the eastern end of the town. Some peasants whom we met showed us where El-Frèreiyeh (الفريرييه)¹ had excavated and laid bare a mosaic pavement. It had been covered up again, so that we did not see it. Dr. Peters, however, made further enquiries of the Dominican Fathers on our return to Jerusalem, and elicited the information that it was Christian in character. The ruins of 'Ain Sôba seem to be of the same age. They are situated on a hill-top, just opposite Kefr Shiyân, and on the southern side of the valley. They do not seem to be noticed in the *Memoirs* or marked on the map. There is indeed a site of exactly the same name, but it seemed to us to be that of the Sôba, south-east of Abu Ghôsh. I am tempted to ask whether, in this 'Ain Sôba, west of Râmallah, we may recognise the site of Zûph? Can Er-Râm, Râmallah, and 'Ain Sôba together be taken for the district of Ramathaim Zophim?

The carriage-road from Jerusalem to Nâblus is open to traffic as far as El-Birch only. It has, however, been almost completed as far as 'Ain Sînia, and follows the ancient route past Jifna. We visited Beitin and 'Ain Yebrûd one day. The fountain on the roadside in the valley south of Beitin is wrongly named " 'Ain el-Kussis " on the map. This name seems now altogether unknown to the peasantry of the district. The name it is known by is 'Ain el-Kuṣ'a (عين القصة) "the Spring of the Pan"—an appellation doubtless derived from the circular, filled-up pool, 11 feet 8 inches in diameter, immediately in front of the well-known cave with two rough columns, into which the water flows from the aqueduct deeply hewn in the ledge of rock above and behind it. On the top of

¹ The French *Brotherhoods* are responsible for the introduction of a new word into modern Arabic.

this ledge are other shallow artificial pans, hewn in the rock, and connected by shallow channels. Guerin, in his work on Palestine (*Judée*, III, 14), calls this spring "‘Ain el-Ghazul." The name of the fountain under the cliff, on the right-hand side (east) of the road on the declivity further north, is well known to the local peasantry as ‘Ain el-‘Aḳābeh.

In the valley-bed south of ‘Ain Yebrūd there is also an ‘Ain, from which the flocks were being watered when we passed. It does not seem to be marked on the map, probably because it looks like a common cistern. It is situated at the mouth of the valley leading up to Umm ul-Massayat. Just before reaching this cistern-like ‘Ain we passed a whole series of rock-tombs, said to have been opened last winter by the people of ‘Ain Yebrūd, who are credited with having destroyed a good many lamps, jars, &c., found therein.

III.—The Nicophorieh tomb was also revisited by me in Dr. Peters' company. The only new point as yet unnoticed, and first remarked by the doctor, is that the masonry lining the chambers has in several places had the hollows in the surface of the stones carefully filled up with stucco. This, as Dr. Peters tells me, was always done preparatory to ornamenting a wall with fresco painting. The Behistun rock was treated in the same way.

I think that it would be worth while excavating inside and to the east of the cave at Kasr el-‘Asafir, to ascertain whether there was ever an entrance to the tomb from this end, or whether the cave, which is clearly artificial, was only a false "show" monument, intended to deceive treasure-seekers. The rock itself is of an inferior and crumbling nature, and I am inclined to think that it also was originally lined with masonry like the chambers.

IV.—I enclose, as the result of my first attempts with the new camera, some prints which will, I trust, be found useful. Among them will be found a bit of the detail of stone carving on lower cornice running across the façade of the Church of the Holy Sepulchre. This picture shows the end of the cornice cut off by the building along the eastern side of the court in front of the church—in other words, the interior of the north-east corner of the court. The photo was taken for the sake of the lowest and bracket-like stone (corbel). It has carved on it two animals,¹ mutilated, but yet reminding one of the two monkeys from Jaffa,

¹ See Note A.

shown in Professor Ganneau's *Archæological Researches*. There is a legend connected with this sculpture. I was one day looking at this stone and mentally comparing it with Professor Ganneau's, when an Armenian priest came up and informed me that the figures were those of two dogs which, when entire, possessed magic powers, and always used to bark whenever a Jew ventured to come near the church or cross the quadrangle. At the time Jerusalem passed out of the hands of the Christians, the Jews seized the opportunity to mutilate the stone, and the dogs have since then been



FIG. 2.—Stone Carving from the Church of the Holy Sepulchre.

unable to bark. I find that amongst the more ignorant native Jews there is a somewhat similar legend, to the effect that in the Temple there were two brazen figures or statues of dogs that used to bark at unauthorised intruders, and that, on the occasion of anyone entering and reading the proper vowels for the right pronunciation of the Tetragrammaton, tried to retain the same in his memory, the noise the statues made caused him to forget it. Our Lord, say they, performed his miracles by help of this Divine Name, the knowledge of the right pronunciation of which he

surreptitiously obtained by entering into the Temple, and retained, in spite of the barking of the dogs, by cutting or scratching the vowel-points into the flesh or skin of his legs. I am sorry that it is impossible, unless one erects a scaffold, to get near enough to take a larger picture of this stone.

[NOTE A.—The carving on the corbel appears to be “Crusaders” work of late twelfth or early thirteenth century, and has represented a man seated between two lions. Both animals are much mutilated, but are recognisable. The subject may be “Daniel,” or possibly a martyrdom. There seems to be a similar corbel, with a different subject, above the right shoulder of the right-hand arch of the great door.

The cornice which is shown resting on this corbel is of a much earlier period, and is evidently material used from an older building, probably one ruined by the Persians. It looks like work of Justinian’s time. Its richness of detail doubtless attracted the attention of the Crusading builders. —J. D. C.]

V.—A block of white marble ($6\frac{3}{4}'' \times 4'' \times 3''$), having on one side a panel ($4'' \times 2\frac{1}{2}''$) containing a small carving of “The Return



FIG. 3.—“The Return of the Spies.”

of the Spies.” The owner, Baron von Ustinow, kindly brought it for me to see, and left it with me, so that I could photograph it at my leisure. He believes it to be a genuine piece of mediæval carving.

[The block was obtained at Hebron by Baroness Ustinow, and was found in the vicinity of the town. The bend in the pole, and the attitude of the bearers, suggest that the famous bunch of grapes from Esheol (Num. xiii, 23) was of great weight as well as of exceptional size. Father Vincent conjectures that the work is Roman or Byzantine (*Revue Biblique* xi, p. 600).]

VI.—I enclose a photograph of the front of “the Gordon tomb,” with the mangers of the old Asnerie running along it. Mention is made of this “trough” in *Quarterly Statement*, 1902, pp. 244–245. Although I cordially agree with the writer in his conclusion that “the Gordon tomb” cannot possibly have been the sepulchre of Christ, I have arrived at that conclusion from observations which are diametrically opposed to his, and are clearly illustrated by the photograph:—

(1) In the first place, the photograph shows that the “trough” or “mangers” belong to an altogether different period from that of the tomb. The way in which the rock was cut was quite different. On the façade of the tomb itself and round the door there are distinct and characteristic criss-cross pick-strokes, which continue downwards (below the threshold of the original, but now walled-up entrance) to the top of the trough, but *no further*. The tooling of the trough and of the continuation of the scarp both right and left, *i.e.*, east and west, is *altogether* different, but I am ignorant of the proper technical term for it.

(2) In the second place, a close examination of the trough itself will, I think, show that it never could have been, and was never intended to be, the bed of a rolling-stone disc. Its bottom is not level. It begins at the point where are the feet of the boy carrying an umbrella, and rises steadily to the spot marked by a slab resting against the scarp; it then slopes down again to the very end of the trough. I believe the trough was specially cut for a manger, because all along its southern wall, rim, or lip, you can see, at intervals of about 3 feet, the holes in which were fixed the staples to tether animals. The photograph shows them distinctly. I had the honour of pointing out all these indications of difference of date to Dr. Peters, and furnished him with a copy of the illustration. The picture shows also where the rock was cut away to receive the abutments of the vaults once constructed alongside of and also at right angles to the scarp. One or two stones at the end of the

ledge under the dark arch on the left of the picture are all the remains now visible of this structure, but I am sure that thorough excavations would reveal more. I do not think that the owners of

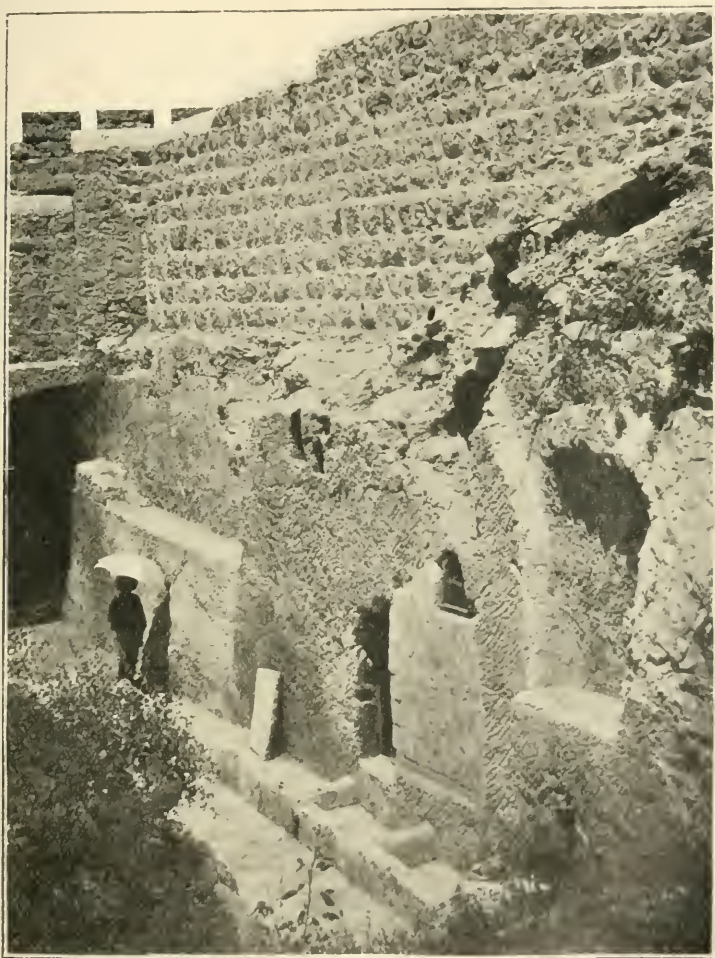


FIG. 4.—Front of "the Gordon Tomb."

the property would object to such investigations being made. In a tunnel along the scarp, just beyond the space covered by the

picture, and to the right of it, is the walled-up entrance to another cave. This ought to be opened, but, strange to say, no attempt seems to have been made to do so. I should not forget to remark that the partitions seen in the trough are masonry, not rock.

EL-EDHEMÎYEH (JEREMIAH'S GROTTTO).

By the Rev. J. E. HANAUER.

IN his notes accompanying a plan of Jeremiah's Grotto, the late Dr. Schiek says, in the last three lines on p. 41 (*Quarterly Statement*, January, 1902):—"A flight of steps leads to the roof of the last room, and to a recess in the rock which is said to be the resting-place of some saint"; and in a footnote he continues: "I understood him to be Assar or Lazarus." This identification is objected to by Mr. Macalister, who in the *Quarterly Statement* for April, 1902, p. 131, remarks "the saint's name seems to be Jeremiah, not Lazarus." Struck by this apparent contradiction, I called on Mr. Macalister some weeks ago, and, in the conversation we had on this point, remarked that I suspected that the name Dr. Schiek heard was that of El-'Ozair, a personage who figures very conspicuously in the hagiology of the Moslems, and who, as has often been remarked by writers on the Koran¹ and others, is none other than Ezra=Esdras=Jeremiah, or, according to the ignorant fellahin of Siloam (as I have ascertained since my conversation with Mr. Macalister), El-'Ezer or El-'Azar,² i.e., Lazarus of Bethany, and who also, as Professor

¹ For instance, Maracci, D'Herbelot, Sale (see Professor Rendel Harris's *Rest of the Words of Baruch*. London, 1889, pp. 39-42), and Kasimirski.

² I have noticed that the fellahin sometimes pronounce the name of Lazarus "Azar," or "Ezer," without the preceding syllable El; it is written العازر.

One should therefore be careful to distinguish the name "Azar," written with an initial *ain*, from "Azar," written with an initial *alif*. The latter was the name, according to the Moslems, of Abraham's father Terah, who died an infidel, and is referred to in the *Koran*, in Sura vi, 74; ix, 115; and lx, 4.

According to a Moslem legend (Von Hammer, *Genäldesaal* I, 74, quoted by Kasimirski, *Le Koran*, p. 497, note), Ibrahim had promised his father that he would intercede with Allah on his behalf that he should be saved from perdition, but that, at the moment when the Patriarch opened his mouth to pray for 'Azar's salvation, a hideous lizard approached him, and Abraham affrighted and disgusted, and not knowing that the reptile was his father metamorphosed, kicked it into the bottomless pit. By this act he unconsciously fulfilled the Divine counsels without failing in his filial duty.

Clermont-Ganneau shows in his *Archæological Researches* (vol. ii, pp. 62 and 63), may be identified with Eleazer the son of Abinadab (1 Sam. vii, 1), whose *makām* is at Karyet el-'Anab or Abu Ghôsh; as well as with Eleazar the high priest, whose *makām* is at 'Awarteh, near Nâblus.

In order, however, to be quite sure of my position, some days ago I went to El-Edhemiyeh, which I had not visited for at least a dozen years past. The Sheikh who has charge of the place was absent, but a Moslem fellah woman who opened the door showed me what was to be seen, and my conjecture was fully verified. Built into a low wall on the left hand side, just within the door, I noticed a stone, the surface of which was deeply indented with grooves, as if tools or something else had been ground upon it. It was so very conspicuous that I instantly conceived the idea that some legend might be connected with it, and I inquired what it was. "Oh," was the instantaneous reply, "those are the finger-marks of Sayedna El-'Ozair." In due time I was led to the foot of the flight of steps above mentioned, and informed that they led to the place where El-'Ozair had slept for 40 years (the number is worth noticing¹) with his cheek pillowed on his hand. When I reached the top of the flight of steps at the foot of the great scarp, and marked "C" on Dr. Schick's plan, I noticed on the flags with which the landing is paved smooth hollows and grooves, of the same kind as those noticed on the rock surface in the north-west part of the Haram area (*Quarterly Statement*, 1891, p. 206, *seq.*), and inquired what they might have been. "Oh," replied my guide, "they are the marks made by Jarmiyâh when he slipped." His name was El-'Ozair at first, but he had a habit of dragging the water out of that cistern instead of drawing it, and so he got the name "*jar miyâh*" (جَر مِيَاة), i. e., "he dragged waters." I have no doubt that this

is an entirely modern legend, and it is curious as illustrating the way in which many of these folklore tales were doubtless started. The Arabic way of pronouncing the name Jeremiah is "Ermia."

As regards El-'Ozair himself, Maracci, as quoted by Professor Rendel Harris, remarks that "some persons say that it is not Ezra, nor Nehemiah, but a certain Alchedrum." He evidently means El-Khudr, whose name is revered throughout the East, and whose

¹ Compare Professor Rendel Harris's remarks on D'Herbelot's legends *Rest of Words of Baruch*, p. 41.

legends may be represented by another hagiological equation : El-Khudr = St. George = Elijah the Tishbite = Phinehas, the son of Eleazar (Judges xx, 28). Who El-'Ozair was is evidently a doubtful question amongst commentators. The following is the story as told by Mujir ed-Din (*Târikh el-Uns el-Jalîl*, vol. i, p. 138, Cairo edition) :—"Ermia (Jeremiah) the Prophet, on whom be peace, lived in the days of Zedekiah, the last king of the Benî Israel. Ermia commanded them to repent, and threatened them with Bukhtunussur (Nebuchadnezzar), but they gave no heed to him. But when he saw that they would not turn from their evil ways, he left them and hid himself till Nebuchadnezzar subdued them and destroyed El-kuds, as we have related. After this Allah revealed to Ermia His determination to restore the city Beit el-Makdas, and commanded him to go thither. So Ermia approached El-kuds, and lo, it was in ruins. Then he said, 'Praised be Allah, He ordered me to descend to this city, and told me that He would rebuild her. Now when will He rebuild her, and when will Allah raise her from the dead after her death?' So he laid down his head and slept. And he had with him an ass and a basket of food—namely, figs—and also a vessel in which was grape-juice. Now, his story is that to which Allah alludes in His precious book when He says¹: 'Like him, who passed by a city which had been destroyed to its foundations, and Allah said "I shall revive this one after her death." So Allah caused him to die for a hundred years, and then Allah woke him and said, "How long hast thou slept?" He said, "A day, or part of a day." Allah said, "Nay, thou hast slept a hundred years. Now look at thy food and drink which are not corrupted, and look at thine ass, for we shall make thee a sign unto men; and look at these bones, how we shall raise them and clothe them with flesh." Now, when this had been shown unto him, he said: "I know that Allah is almighty." Now, it has been said by some that the owner (hero) of this story is El-'Ozair, but the soundest explanation is that it is Ermia.'"

The story, whether it refers to Ermia or El-'Ozair, is doubtless a curious mixture of several legends. It reminds one of that of the Seven Sleepers of Ephesus, and one would be inclined to think of that as its germ, were it not that a special chapter of the Koran—viz., the XVIII, entitled "the Cavern," deals with that myth. One is

¹ The *Koran*, Sura II, entitled "the Cow," verse 261, Comp. Sale, p. 28, note x (Warne and Co., 1890).

also reminded of Ezekiel's vision of the dry bones (Ezekiel XXXVII). It seems, however, clear that the bones in 'Ozair's story were those of the ass which had died during the saint's century-long nap.

The source of the story is indicated by Professor Rendel Harris, in the work to which I have already several times referred. It comes from an apocryphal book attributed to the Ebionites or Jewish Christian heretics of the second century. In that story Jeremiah is represented as wishing to send Abimelech (Ebedmelech), the Ethiopian, away from Jerusalem, in order that he should not see its destruction, and the Lord directs him to send him to the gardens of Agrippa, where he shall be hidden in the mountain side until the return of the people from exile. Accordingly, Jeremiah directs Abimelech to take a basket and go to the place indicated and bring back figs. Abimelech obeys, but falls asleep under a tree. He wakes after a nap of sixty-six years' duration, and returning to the ruined city, fails to recognise it. The other prominent element in the 'Ozair legend is the story of Esdras and his ass, of which tale Professor Clermont-Ganneau found traditions still preserved amongst the Abu Ghôsh peasantry.

I do not know at present whether there are in any of the old Eastern churches hereabouts frescoes or the like of the Esdras-Baruch myths, but I have reason, however, to believe that such pictures, either on plaster or in mosaic, once existed, and that some of the latter may yet be discovered. As a matter of fact, when I was living at Jaffa a few years ago, and when everybody was talking of the recently-found and now famous mosaic map at Medeba, I was told by Mr. Dickie, who had specially visited Medeba in order to examine it, that he had been informed by the people of that place that amongst other portions of the mosaic destroyed before his visit was a picture of a man asleep near an ass and a basket.

[Mr. Dickie writes that the mosaic fragment was evidently one of a series of pavement panels surrounding the church. Some of these were fairly well preserved at the time of his visit, and measured approximately 8 to 9 feet square. The panel in question was described by a native of the village as follows:—"Here a part of a donkey, there the legs of a man, sleeping, and near him was something like a basket." The question of the contents of the basket was discussed, but his recollections of such details were too much subject to the influence of suggestion to be of much value. In fact, this particular portion was too fragmentary to make any definite statement. The character of the mosaic surrounding the church

was such as is constantly being discovered throughout the country, and which can be dated with a fair amount of certainty somewhere about the seventh or eighth centuries. To this Mr. Hanauer observes that there happen to be at present in Jerusalem several reproductions of the Medeba mosaics. They are not all of the same size, and are evidently by different hands. Two of them are at the Anglican College (St. George's), and one of these shows some of the panels referred to by Mr. Dickie. Amongst them is a picture of a man leading a horse or donkey. Mr. Hanauer hopes to be able to obtain and forward a photograph of this panel.]

THE SAMARITAN PASSOVER.

By the Rev. ROLAND G. STAFFORD.

THE following account of the Samaritan Passover¹ and the diagram were obtained from the present High Priest, Yakûb, in the course of a journey through Palestine during the winter of 1900. It was written at his dictation by his son, and having no knowledge of Arabic, I was dependent upon my dragoman for the translation, and cannot therefore answer for it :—

“On the eve of New Year's Day the whole sect assemble and appoint an elder ('a man who knows'). They collect a sum of 3,800 piastres to give to him to spend on the offering ('Corban') in order that he may prepare all things necessary 20 days before mounting Gerizim, when all things needful must be quite ready.

“After 20 days the ascent of Gerizim is made seven days before the 'Corban Festival,' though this early (beforehand) ascent is optional. There are some who mount 10 days before the appointed time, and some who mount seven days beforehand, and some who mount one day beforehand; but those who mount one day beforehand will be those who are in mourning (owing to death). No one of this sect is allowed to be late in mounting at the appointed time of the 'Corban,' not even if he had the greatest of hindrances—*e.g.*, even if he is very ill—he is obliged to perform his duty and ascend the mountain: such a one they put on a mule and take him up to eat the Passover Corban. One day before this Passover they make thin unleavened bread like that of the Jews, which they call Massah, and they eat up this during the seven days of this Unleavened-bread Feast.

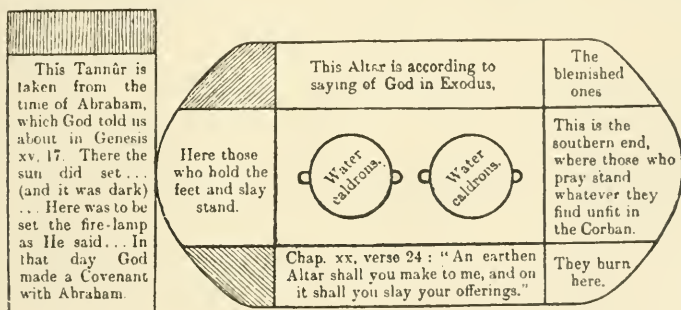
“The day which is the 3rd of Nisan (April 15th), or the 29th of Adâr (April 10th), or the 7th of Nisan (April 19th), or the 24th of Nisan (May 6th)—these are the appointed dates in their reckoning. They bring with them seven sheep which are unblemished, that is to say,

¹ Cf. *Quarterly Statement*, 1901, pp. 82–92. [Another interesting description of the Samaritan Passover from an eye-witness is given by Professor Curtiss in his recently published *Primitive Semitic Religion To-day* (Appendix F).]

which are not one-eyed, nor broken limbed, nor having one ear jagged, nor bald-headed, nor one horn broken. They stand on a spot well known to them, Jebel eṭ-Tôr (Mount of Light), a point on Mount Gerizim, which is one of their many possessions according to their title-deeds drawn out in their names for many centuries. Seven men slay the 'Corban' together. Each of these men who know the method of slaying stand to slay, and they all slay at once and at the same moment. Whilst this is going on the High Priest will be reading an appropriate passage, which is a thanksgiving to God for His Covenant with them.

"Even to this day do they still perform this 'Corban.'"

"This 'Corban' dates from the time they left Egypt against the will of their enemies; they were happy at their safe and successful departure, whilst the natives of Egypt were in great distress at the cries of their first-born. And God instituted this 'Corban' as a memorial of the exodus from Egypt.



"This is the diagram of the 'Tannûr' (place of Sacrifice, *lit.* 'furnace,') on which they roast their unblemished sheep, out of which they take nothing except the entrails, otherwise they are intact.

"This is the fashion of the altar on which they burn the entrails, and where they burn all that remains after they have finished eating. All must be burnt.

"They never allow any stranger to eat of this 'Corban,' nor do they give him a chance of touching it.

"And this 'Corban' they slay on the night of the 24th of Nisan (&c.) at sunset, and whilst they are doing this they continue praying to the One God. And the 'Corban' is ready at six o'clock of that night.

"They eat in happiness and joy.

"Every man stands with his staff in his hand and his loins girded, and eats and then retires. Now this is an account of the 'Corban.'

"And when the 'Corban' is finished they remain on this mountain for seven days and no longer, so as not to run the risk of touching, seeing, and eating any leavened bread as we have said before.

"This is the diagram of the caldron in which they boil the water to

scald the 'Corban,' and the form of the altar, and the 'Tannûr' on which they roast it after this fashion.

"And on this altar, under which are placed logs of wood, they burn the fat, as we have said before.

"In the centre are the two pans of boiling water for skinning and fleecing the 'Corban.' From under the altar (as in the diagram) they remove the ashes on which they have burnt the entrails.

"Half an hour before the 'Corban' is removed from the Tannûr a crier cries, and the sect appears to you so happy, as if they had won a great sum of money or a victory, to which there is nothing in comparison.

"This is the full and complete end."

NOTES ON PROFESSOR LIBBEY'S ACCOUNT OF THE JORDAN VALLEY AND PETRA.

By Professor HULL.

IN the last number of the *Quarterly Statement* (October, 1902) there appears an abstract of a paper by Professor William Libbey, read at the Belfast meeting of the British Association, on "The Jordan Valley and Petra," which is chiefly remarkable for its assumptions based on little or no evidence, and its ignorance of the geological structure of the region it professes to describe, notwithstanding all that has been written by previous explorers, of whose work, it may be presumed, the author appears to be entirely ignorant. It might have been supposed that an American professor (as may be inferred from several words and phrases), before undertaking an exploration of a region of such peculiar geological interest, would have mastered, at least, the main features of the succession of formations with which many published volumes, from those of Fraas, Lartet, and Lynch, to those of Tristram and the Expedition of 1883-4, sent out by the Palestine Exploration Committee, would have provided him; but this, it is clear, he has omitted to do.

We will notice some of the statements of Professor Libbey as they occur in succession, pointing out their inaccuracies:—

1. He states (p. 411) that the subsidence of the Jordan-Arabah fault is on its "eastern side"; the fact being that the subsidence, or *down throw*, is on the western side, as the relative position of the formations at each side of the valley show.

2. He supposes that the Jordan-Arabah Valley has been "widened and deepened by ice action." This is a purely imaginary hypothesis, unsupported by any evidence either on the part of the author or of anyone else, as far as we are aware. It is true that the moraines of ancient glaciers are found in the valleys of the Lebanon and Hermon, reaching down to a level of about 4,000 feet above the sea, as was shown

as far back as 1862 by Sir J. D. Hooker, and afterwards corroborated by Canon Tristram and M. Lartet ; but there is no foundation for the supposition that the glaciers of the Lebanon descended into the Jordan Valley "at least as far south as the Sea of Galilee, if not throughout the whole length of the valley." This is a flight of the imagination which none of the distinguished observers above named has ventured to put forth.

3. But perhaps the most surprising of all the statements in Professor Libbey's communication, as far, at least, as they are contained in the abstract, is that which places the Nubian sandstone in geological sequence above the Cretaceous limestones, and as having been deposited after the formation of the Jordan-Arabah Valley. There can be no mistake as to the author's statement, however surprising and contrary to fact, as he speaks of the "immense deposits of sandstone," including that of the city of Petra, as having been laid down in the Jordan-Arabah Valley, and subsequently to the production of the great rift or fault of that valley (p. 412). The real succession of geological events are, as is well known : first, the deposition of the sandstone ; then of the Cretaceous and Eocene limestones ; afterwards the production of the great rift, or fault of the Jordan-Arabah Valley. Consequently the sandstone underlies the limestones, and partook of all the terrestrial vicissitudes to which the latter formation was subjected.

4. The author has apparently mistaken the remarkable old lake terraces which line the shores of the Dead Sea as being formed of sandstone—part of his "immense deposits of sandstone" referred to above. Amongst these he includes the Lisân Peninsula, which is known to be formed of calcareous marls with gypsum ; and he proceeds to favour his readers with speculations regarding the former prolongation of the Gulf of Akabah into the Dead Sea, and the changes by which it was forced back to its present position. But an observer who has failed to grasp the more obvious geological phenomena of the region he has traversed can scarcely be looked to as a guide in subjects more recondite—such as the great changes of level which the Arabah Valley has undergone.

5. Lastly, Professor Libbey is not more happy in his historical reference to Petra, which he classes with "the other strong places of Moab." He has a great deal to learn regarding the country of which he treats.

AN inscription has been found by Miss Gladys Dickson on an ossuary (and by her forwarded to the Fund), which promises to prove of singular interest. It commemorates some of the family "*of Nicanor the Alexandrian who made the gates.*" Professor Ganneau suggests that the bronze doors in the Temple "Gate of Nicanor" are probably here referred to. The Greek inscription is followed by a repetition of the name in Hebrew. A photograph, accompanied by full notes, will be given in the next issue of the *Quarterly Statement*.

NOTICES OF FOREIGN PUBLICATIONS.

Recueil d'Archéologie Orientale, vol. v, parts 12-17.—M. Clermont-Ganneau, in § 39, identifies the *lac de Cartorie* mentioned in a deed of Balian d'Ybelin, Lord of Arsuf, *Arsûf*, dated 1261, with Bahret Kâtûrieh—a small lake near Arsûf, formed by the silting up of the rock-hewn channels which formerly drained that portion of the Maritime Plain. § 40 contains notes on *Greek inscriptions*, collected by the late M. Renan at Sidon. § 41 deals with the *Phœnician inscriptions* of the temple of Eshmun at Sidon.

In a suggestive discussion, § 42, of the question "Where was the mouth of the Jordan in the time of Joshua?" M. Clermont-Ganneau points out that the expressions, "north bay of the Salt Sea at the end of Jordan" (Josh. xviii, 19), "the bay of the sea at the end of Jordan" (xv, 5), and "from the uttermost part of the Salt Sea, from the bay that looked southward" (Josh. xv, 2), which occur in the descriptions of the boundaries of Judah and Benjamin necessarily imply the existence of a bay (Heb. "tongue," *lâshôn*) or lagoon at the north and south ends of the Dead Sea when the book of Joshua was written. The author maintains that the southern bay is now represented by the marshy plain es-Sebkha, and that the northern bay, now partly filled up by the silt of the Jordan, is defined by the edge of the Zor, or lower bed of the river. He assumes that the level of the Dead Sea in the time of Joshua was 328 feet (100 m.) higher than it is at present, and that the northern bay was a shallow lagoon extending northwards to the vicinity of Kasr el-Yahûd. At this point, some 4½ miles (7 km.) from its present mouth, the Jordan ended, and from it the common boundary of Judah and Benjamin started. The level of the Dead Sea is assumed to have fallen 328 feet since the time of Joshua, either by a natural process of contraction, or by the escape of water through fissures in the bed of the lake at times of earthquake. And stages in the fall of level are supposed to be indicated by the marshes mentioned in 1 Macc. ix, 32 ff, and by Josephus (*Ant.* xiii, 1, §§ 2-5), and by the statement of the Russian Abbot Daniel in the twelfth century that in ancient times the sea of Sodom extended to the place of Baptism, but was then 4 versts from it.

Whilst agreeing with M. Clermont-Ganneau that, when the book of Joshua was written, there was a bay, or tongue, at the north end of the Dead Sea, it is hardly possible to accept his theory that the level of the lake was then 328 feet higher than it is now. Under existing conditions of climate such a fall is impossible, and there is no reason to believe that any material change has taken place in the climate since the Israelites passed over Jordan. Nor is there any evidence that the waters of the lake have been sensibly lowered by seismic disturbances during historic times. The mouth of the Jordan has never been examined with reference to the question raised by M. Clermont-Ganneau, but a bay of

some depth would be formed by a comparatively small rise in the level of the Dead Sea, and the boundary between Judah and Benjamin may have been laid out at a period of high level.

Notes sur les Croisades, by Max van Berchem. No. I, "Le royaume de Jérusalem et le livre de M. Röhricht." (Printed in pamphlet form from the *Journal Asiatique*, 1902.)—In a short introduction to his historical, geographical, and philological notes on Röhricht's fascinating history of the Latin kingdom of Jerusalem, the author points out that much additional information, from Arab sources, has become available since its publication. He also remarks upon the desirability of checking the statements in the manuscripts by contemporary Arab inscriptions, which give precise facts with regard to fights, dates, proper names, and political titles. The object of the "notes" is to bring together all information from Arab sources that can be utilised in the correction of errors and the supply of deficiencies in Röhricht's great work, and the name of their author is alone sufficient to indicate their great value.

Zeitschrift des deutschen Palästina-vereins, vol. xxv, parts 1-2.—The two parts are occupied by an exhaustive article by Dr. H. Hilderscheid on the rainfall of Palestine in ancient and modern times. § 1 is a critical examination of rainfall observations in recent years, illustrated by 40 tables, conveniently arranged so as to give the rainfall from July to July—a month in which there is no rain, and not as usual for the calendar year. The observing stations are thus grouped:—In the coast district: Gaza, Jaffa, Sarona, Haifa, and the Carmel Hotel; in the hill country: Bethlehem, Jerusalem (three stations), and Nazareth; and in the Jordan depression, Tiberias. At only one of these stations, Jerusalem I, have the observations extended over a fairly long period (39 years), so that some of the conclusions are liable to modification. Much use, with due acknowledgment, has been made of the material published by the Fund, and especially of the articles contributed to the *Quarterly Statement* by our late Chairman of Committee, Mr. James Glaisher. The Jerusalem observations seem to indicate that there are wet and dry periods, but the duration of each period cannot at present be certainly defined. The relation of the rainfall curve to the mean rainfall of the 39 years is well shown on Diagram IV.

Section 2 is a useful collection of all references in the Bible and Talmud to rain, snow, hail, mist, frost, and dew. In § 3 the question of change of climate is discussed, and the author comes to the conclusion that there has been no material change in the climate or in amount of rainfall during historic times.

Mit. und Nach. des D.P.V., 1901.—No. 1 contains an appreciative obituary notice of the late Dr. Schick, and a short account by Professor Dr. Sellin of his excavations on the site of Taanach (*Quarterly Statement*, 1902, p. 301). No. 2 opens with remarks by Dr. Schumacher on inscriptions found east of Jordan by Mr. C. Rohrer, and this is followed by a well-illustrated article on the altar place at Petra, by Professor G. L.

Robinson, of Chicago, who visited it in May, 1900, and was the first to realise and make known the importance of this "high place" of the Edomite capital.

C. W. W.

NOTES AND QUERIES.

The Name of Jehovah on Seals.—The occurrences of the name of Jehovah on Hebrew seals, from Jerusalem and elsewhere, written in the ancient character, are becoming numerous. As a rule they have nothing in the form of an image or animal object on them; but three cases at least are known where the law appears not to be observed.

Perrot (*Hist. de l'Art*, vol. iv, p. 439) gives eight early seals from Jerusalem. Of these the seals of "Obadiah, the King's servant," "Hananiah, son of Achbor," and "Hananiah, son of Azariah" (compare Hananiah, son of Azur, Jer. xxviii, 1), have the names only engraved. Those of "Belnathan" (with a winged figure) and of "Chemoshyakhi" (with a winged sun) need not detain us, as they do not contain the name Jehovah.

The large seal of "Shebaniah bar 'Azzu" has on one side a human figure, and on the other two winged suns. It is remarkable that the *Zain* has the Phœnician not the Hebrew form; and the word *Bar* for "son" was used in Phœnicia by 800 B.C., instead of the Hebrew *Ben*. If, then, the name *Yehu* for Jehovah really occurs, which does not seem quite clear from the drawing, there is yet reason to think that this seal is Phœnician and not Hebrew.

Two others remain. That of "Shem'ayahu, son of Azariyahu," with the figure of a bull, probably older than 700 B.C.; and that of "Nathanyahu, son of Obedyahu," with two rampant goats, similar to those on some Phœnician seals. This latter may date about 700 B.C.

The first is a clear case in which it is possible that a Hebrew may have transgressed the law. The word *Ben* is used for "son."

The second may be another case, as the word *Ben* occurs (*see* Nathaniah, 1 Chron. xxv, 2); but it is remarkable that the word is divided—*Beth* in the upper, *Nun* in the lower line—which is, I believe, unusual. In neither of these cases is there any religious emblem—*i.e.*, winged sun or winged figure—to show idolatrous worship, as in the other cases mentioned above.

Colonel C. R. CONDER, LL.D., R.F.

THE PALESTINE EXPLORATION FUND.

NOTES AND NEWS.

THE Committee are pleased to announce that the Archbishop of Canterbury has consented to act as President of the Fund. His Grace has written (through Canon Dalton):—"Most gladly do I accept the honourable position offered me of the Presidency of the Palestine Exploration Fund. I know its work, and I value it exceedingly."

Mr. James Glaisher, for some 20 years Chairman of the Executive Committee, died on the morning of February 7th, in his 94th year. He was buried at Shirley, about three miles from Croydon, on the 11th, and the funeral was attended by the present chairman, Major-General Sir Charles Wilson, and by the Honorary Secretary and the Acting Secretary. The Executive Committee sent a wreath of flowers, which was placed on the grave. A brief memoir will be found on another page.

The Committee are glad to be able to state that Mr. Macalister has resumed the work at Gezer, which was interrupted by the outbreak of cholera. Mr. Macalister is now engaged in clearing out the vicinity of the "high place," or temple.

The following letter has been addressed by Mr. Crace to the Editor of the *Times*:—

SIR,—In June last year you courteously allowed me to inform your readers that this Society was beginning the excavation of the site of the ancient Gezer, the "portion" given by Pharaoh to his daughter, Solomon's wife. The work was energetically carried on

by Mr. Stewart Macalister, until stopped, late in the year, by the serious outbreak of cholera, which carried off many of the workers. But by that time the discoveries had amply justified the selection of the site. A pre-Israelite megalithic temple, evidences of infant sacrifice, and varied forms of sepulture of at least two early races of inhabitants were brought to light, besides large numbers of objects illustrating the several periods of occupation.

The work is now being taken up again on the removal of quarantine restrictions; and what I desire to impress on those interested is that, inasmuch as the Imperial iradé authorising the excavation is for two years only, the work must be pushed on very vigorously if it is to be completed in the time. The site covers a large area, and needs an extra large force of workpeople.

The Committee estimate that, to accomplish what is begun (within the given time), they will require about £2,000 more than is provided for by their regular subscribers. They therefore appeal to the public to assist them to that extent. Contributions should be sent to Mr. George Armstrong, at the offices of the Palestine Exploration Fund, 38, Conduit Street, W.

J. D. CRACE, Hon. Secretary.

The Committee have received the following special donations towards the sum of £2,000 which they are desirous of raising:—

| | £ | s. | d. |
|-----------------------------|-----|----|----|
| Dr. Aldis Wright | 100 | 0 | 0 |
| The Lord Iveagh | 25 | 0 | 0 |
| Professor Macalister | 25 | 0 | 0 |
| Professor Bevan | 20 | 0 | 0 |
| James Hilton, Esq. | 10 | 0 | 0 |
| Mrs. Lewis | 10 | 0 | 0 |
| G. B. Lloyd, Esq. | 10 | 0 | 0 |
| Mr. Crace | 5 | 5 | 0 |

The death of Sergeant Black, R.E., will be regretted by all who know what an important part he took in the survey of Palestine. Colonel Conder writes:—"He was selected from the Ordnance Survey to accompany Captain Stewart in 1872; and, that officer falling sick almost at once, while Mr. Tyrwhitt Drake went away on a visit to North Syria, Sergeant Black was left with only

Mr. Armstrong to carry on the work until my arrival. During these months excellent work was done, and I found the experience and high character of Sergeant Black of the greatest value. He was invalided home in 1875, after a most trying time in the south of Judæa. He again volunteered to accompany me in 1881, and was in Moab during the anxious months spent on the East Palestine Survey. He was eminently fitted, by his patience and prudence, to deal with Orientals, and his thoroughly conscientious pride in his work ensured the accuracy of the survey. He was also a highly educated man, and made many valuable suggestions in connection with Bible geography and antiquities. I had the pleasure, a few years ago, of writing to tell him of an unexpected test applied to the survey work, in connection with a very detailed Crusading account of the district round *Bablân* (*Castellum Babulorum*), at the foot of Carmel, which was entirely unknown when the region was surveyed, and which proved the completeness and accuracy of the map in this district, for which he was personally responsible. The letter which I received in reply showed the satisfaction with which he was able to look back on his work. Without such men the survey of Palestine would not have been what the public had a right to expect."

The following notes on the epidemic of cholera in 1902 are from a contribution by Dr. Masterman to *Home Words for Jerusalem* :—

"The Gaza district and all Southern Palestine received cholera through the overland route from Egypt *viâ* El Arîsh. Here, as is now well known, the 'cordon' was not strictly enforced, with disastrous results. Then either *viâ* Egypt, or, as seems probable, directly from Northern Arabia, the east of the Jordan was infected at the same time as, or perhaps earlier than, Gaza, and thence the disease spread northwards and north-west to the Jordan Valley. Ammân, where the Damascus-Mecca railhead now is, was the immediate centre whence the cholera attacked Tiberias and its district. Es-Salt and Jericho, and, lastly, in a manifest way by means of railway workmen from the railway, Damascus.

"The disease has, as is usual, been far more severe in the low lands than among the mountains. Thus, such places as Gaza, Jaffa, Lydda, and a great proportion of villages in the Plain of Sharon,

villages near the Plain of Esdraelon, and places in the Jordan Valley, like Tiberias and Jericho, have suffered terribly, whereas Damascus, Nazareth, Safed, Nâblus, Jerusalem, and Hebron have suffered scarcely at all; in the case of most the only fatal cases being those of fugitives from other places.

“The mortality appears to have been of the kind typical in such epidemics. Beginning almost unnoticed, the numbers of deaths increase rapidly from week to week, reaching a maximum in four or five weeks, and then rapidly decline. This is characteristic of each place attacked. Thus the deaths at Gaza were, as far as is known, as follows:—September 20th, 60; 27th, 96; October 4th, 123; 11th, 226; 18th, 292; 27th, 830; November 1st, 513; 8th, 67; 15th, 45; 22nd, 22—total 2,274.

“The height of the epidemic in Gaza was the week in October; in Lydda a week later, and at Jaffa the middle of November. What the death-rate in the villages in the plains may have been it is impossible to guess. Two or three places where I have information may give some idea. In Abu Shushesh there are 30 new graves since the end of October; at Beit Jebrîn 60 deaths are reported; at Jericho it is said 80 funerals have occurred, but many of these were from cases coming from east of the Jordan.

“Although the epidemic has fallen heavily on some towns and villages, others in close proximity have wonderfully escaped. Ramleh, for example, has been fortunate. With respect to the villages, I am informed that the inhabitants of Tell Zakariyeh were quite free from cholera, although many villages round were severely smitten.”

Mr. Hanauer, who has recently visited *Hajla* (Beth-hoglah), writes that the convent has been rebuilt, vineyards and gardens surround the *‘Ain*, but little is left of the frescoes in the chapels. Several changes also have taken place at *Qarantel*, particularly in front of the “Cave of the Temptation” (Matt. iv, 1). The inside of the cave has been redecorated. Mr. Hanauer utters a warning against too readily accepting newly-discovered “mosaics,” as there is good reason to believe that forgers are turning their attention to them.

The Museum and Library of the Palestine Exploration Fund at Jerusalem have been removed from the room opposite to the Tower of David to the Bishop's Buildings, near the Tombs of the Kings, where the use of a room has been kindly permitted by the Rev. Dr. Blyth, Bishop in Jerusalem and the East. The Museum is open daily, except Sundays, and the Honorary Secretary, Dr. D'Erf Wheeler, will give all information necessary.

Mr. Macalister's two reports on the excavations at Gezer have been reprinted from the *Quarterly Statement* in pamphlet form, and can be obtained on application to the Acting Secretary, price 1s. 2d. post free.

The "Flora of Syria, Palestine, and Sinai," by the Rev. George E. Post, M.D., Beirût, Syria, containing descriptions of all the Phaenogams and Aerogens of the region, and illustrated by 441 woodcuts, may be had at the office of the Fund, price 21s.

In order to make up complete sets of the "Quarterly Statement," the Committee will be very glad to receive any of the back numbers.

The income of the Society from December 23rd, 1902, to March 20th, 1903, was—from Annual Subscriptions and Donations, including Local Societies, £759 17s. 4d.; from Lectures, £35 19s. 6d.; from sales of publications, &c., £169 1s. 1d.; total, £964 17s. 11d. The expenditure during the same period was £980 16s. 11d. On March 21st the balance in the Bank was £424 7s. 10d.

Subscribers to the Fund are reminded that, whilst the receipt of every subscription and contribution is promptly acknowledged by the Acting Secretary, they will henceforth be published annually, and not quarterly. A complete List of Subscribers and Subscriptions for 1902 will be published in due course in a separate form.

Subscribers in U.S.A. to the work of the Fund will please note that they can procure copies of any of the publications from the

Rev. Professor Theo. F. Wright, Honorary General Secretary to the Fund, 42 Quincy Street, Cambridge, Mass.

The Committee will be glad to communicate with ladies and gentlemen willing to help the Fund as Honorary Secretaries.

Subscribers will please note that they can still obtain a set of the "Survey of Palestine," in four volumes, for £7 7s., but the price has been increased to the public to £9 9s. The price of single volumes to the public has also been increased. Applications should be made to the Acting Secretary.

The price of a complete set of the translations published by the Palestine Pilgrims' Text Society, in 13 volumes, with general index, bound in cloth, is £10 10s. A catalogue describing the contents of each volume can be had on application to the Secretary, 38 Conduit Street.

The Museum at the office of the Fund, 38 Conduit Street (a few doors from Bond Street), is open to visitors every week-day from 10 o'clock till 5, except Saturdays, when it is closed at 2 p.m.

It may be well to mention that plans and photographs alluded to in the reports from Jerusalem and elsewhere cannot all be published, but all are preserved in the office of the Fund, where they may be seen by subscribers.

Photographs of the late Dr. Schick's models (1) of the Temple of Solomon, (2) of the Herodian Temple, (3) of the Haram Area during the Christian occupation of Jerusalem, and (4) of the Haram Area as it is at present, have been received at the office of the Fund. Sets of these four photographs, with an explanation by Dr. Schick, can be purchased by applying to the Secretary, 38 Conduit Street, W.

Branch Associations of the Bible Society, all Sunday Schools within the Sunday School Institute, the Sunday School Union, and the Wesleyan Sunday School Institute, will please observe that by a special Resolution of the Committee they will henceforth be treated as subscribers and be allowed to purchase the books and maps (by application only to the Secretary) at reduced price.

The Committee will be glad to receive donations of Books to the Library of the Fund, which already contains many works of great value relating to Palestine and other Bible Lands. A catalogue of Books in the Library will be found in the July *Quarterly Statement*, 1893.

Authorised Lecturers for the Society.

AMERICA.

Professor THEODORE F. WRIGHT, Ph.D., 42, Quincy Street, Cambridge, Mass., Honorary General Secretary of the Palestine Exploration Fund for the United States. His subjects are as follows:—

- (1) *The Buried City of Jerusalem.*
- (2) *Discoveries in Palestine.*

ENGLAND.

The Rev. THOMAS HARRISON, F.R.G.S., St. John's Vicarage, Dewsbury Moor, Yorks. His subjects are as follows:—

- (1) *Research and Discovery in the Holy Land.*
- (2) *Bible Scenes in the Light of Modern Science.*
- (3) *The Survey of Eastern Palestine.*
- (4) *In the Track of the Israelites from Egypt to Canaan.*
- (5) *The Jordan Valley, the Dead Sea, and the Cities of the Plain.*
- (6) *The Recovery of Jerusalem—(Excavations in 1894).*
- (7) *The Recovery of Lachish and the Hebrew Conquest of Palestine.*
- (8) *Archæological Illustrations of the Bible.* (Specially adapted for Sunday School Teachers.)

The Rev. CHARLES HARRIS, M.A., F.R.G.S., The Elms, Windlesham Road, St. Helen's, Lanes. (All Lectures illustrated by lantern slides.) His subjects are as follows:—

- (1) *Modern Discoveries in Palestine.*
- (2) *Stories in Stone; or, New Light on the Old Testament.*
- (3) *Underground Jerusalem; or, With the Explorer in 1895.*

Bible Stories from the Monuments, or Old Testament History in the Light of Modern Research:—

- (4) A. *The Story of Joseph; or, Life in Ancient Egypt.*
- (5) B. *The Story of Moses; or, Through the Desert to the Promised Land.*
- (6) C. *The Story of Joshua; or, The Buried City of Lachish.*
- (7) D. *The Story of Sennacherib; or, Scenes of Assyrian Warfare.*
- (8) E. *The Story of the Hittites; or, A Lost Nation Found.*

SCOTLAND.

The Rev. JAMES SMITH, B.D., F.S.A., F.R.G.S., St. George's-in-the-West Parish, Aberdeen. (All Lectures are illustrated with lantern slides, many of which are coloured.) His subjects are as follows:—

- (1) *The Palestine Exploration Fund.*
- (2) *A Pilgrimage to Palestine.*
- (3) *Jerusalem—Ancient and Modern.*
- (4) *The Temple Area, as it now is.*
- (5) *The Church of the Holy Sepulchre.*
- (6) *A Visit to Bethlehem and Hebron.*
- (7) *Jericho, Jordan, and the Dead Sea.*

WALES.

The Rev. J. LLEWELYN THOMAS, M.A., Aberpergwm, Glynneath, South Wales. His subjects are as follows:—

- (1) *Explorations in Judea.*
- (2) *Research and Discovery in Samaria and Galilee.*
- (3) *In Bible Lands; a Narrative of Personal Experiences.*
- (4) *The Reconstruction of Jerusalem.*
- (5) *Problems of Palestine.*

N.B.—All Lectures are illustrated by specially prepared lantern slides.

Application for Lectures may be either addressed to the Secretary, 38 Conduit Street, W., or sent to the address of the Lecturers.

The Committee acknowledge with thanks the following:—

“The First Bible.” From the Author, Colonel C. R. Conder, LL.D., M.R.A.S., R.E.

“Recueil d’Archéologie Orientale.” Tome V, Livraison 18. From the Author, Professor Clermont-Ganneau, M.I.

“Al-Mashrik: Revue Catholique Orientale Bimensuelle.”

FORM OF BEQUEST TO THE PALESTINE EXPLORATION FUND.

I give to the Palestine Exploration Fund, London, the sum of _____ to be applied towards the General Work of the Fund; and I direct that the said sum be paid, free of Legacy Duty, and that the Receipt of the Treasurer of the Palestine Exploration Fund shall be a sufficient discharge to my Executors.

Signature _____

Witnesses { _____

NOTE.—Three Witnesses are necessary in the United States of America;
 Two suffice in Great Britain.

Whilst desiring to give publicity to proposed identifications and other theories advanced by officers of the Fund and contributors to the pages of the *Quarterly Statement*, the Committee wish it to be distinctly understood that by publishing them in the *Quarterly Statement* they neither sanction nor adopt them.



(Portrait photograph.)

[by A. J. Melhuish.]

JAMES GLAISHER, F.R.S.

OBITUARY OF JAMES GLAISHER, ESQ., F.R.S.

MR. JAMES GLAISHER, F.R.S., who was Chairman of the Executive Committee of the Fund for 20 eventful years, was born in London on April 7th, 1809—the year that gave to the world Bismarck, Gladstone, and other illustrious men—and died at Croydon on February 7th last, in his 94th year. Before he was twenty he was appointed a Civil Assistant of the Ordnance Survey Department, which was then engaged in carrying out the Principal Triangulation of Ireland—a work which attracted men of such calibre as Professor Tyndal, Rev. T. A. Southwood, to whom the Modern Department of Cheltenham College owed so much, and Mr. Tovey, one of the masters of the same school. Mr. Glaisher always retained his interest in the national survey, and I well remember the pleasure it gave him, some 25 years ago, to renew his acquaintance with the office in the Phoenix Park in which he had worked in early youth.

It was during his work on the storm-swept, cloud-capped mountains of Ireland that his interest in meteorology was first awakened. The long hours of waiting and watching until a break in mist or cloud enabled a clear view to be obtained of the trigonometrical station on some distant peak were characteristically occupied in noting the formation and colours of the clouds, and all those changes in the weather which had such an important influence on the progress of the work upon which he was engaged. In 1833 he became an assistant in Cambridge Observatory, and in 1836 an assistant in the astronomical department of the Greenwich Observatory. In 1840 he was appointed Superintendent of the Magnetic and Meteorological Department at Greenwich, a post which he held until his retirement from the public service in 1874.

Mr. Glaisher initiated the publication of the quarterly and annual reports on meteorology issued by the Registrar-General, but it was in 1862 that his name became generally known in connection with the experiments conducted by the British Association for the purpose of meteorological investigations in the higher regions of the air. He made more than 30 balloon ascents, and of these the most daring, and that which attracted the greatest attention, was made on September 5th, 1862. On this occasion he and Mr. Coxwell

reached the great height of 37,000 feet, or seven miles. He was the founder of the Royal Meteorological Society; occupied the presidential chair of the Royal Microscopic Society and of the Photographic Society, and wrote more than a hundred books and papers relating to astronomy, meteorology, and the theory of numbers.

The subscribers to the Fund are well aware of Mr. Glaisher's long connexion with its work, but they are probably not so well acquainted with the many services which he rendered to it during the last 35 years. A member of the General Committee almost from the foundation of the Fund, he joined the Executive Committee as far back as 1867, and from the first took the greatest interest in the successive expeditions that were sent out to the Holy Land. As might have been expected, he at once took special charge of everything connected with the climate and meteorology of Palestine, and the subscribers are greatly indebted to him for the many valuable papers on the subject which he contributed to the *Quarterly Statement*. Last year he prepared a paper on the meteorology of Jerusalem, in which he discussed the barometer and thermometer readings of the last 20 years, and the rainfall of the last 40 years. This last contribution to the work of the Fund has now been published in a pamphlet, which he was able to correct in proof before his final illness.

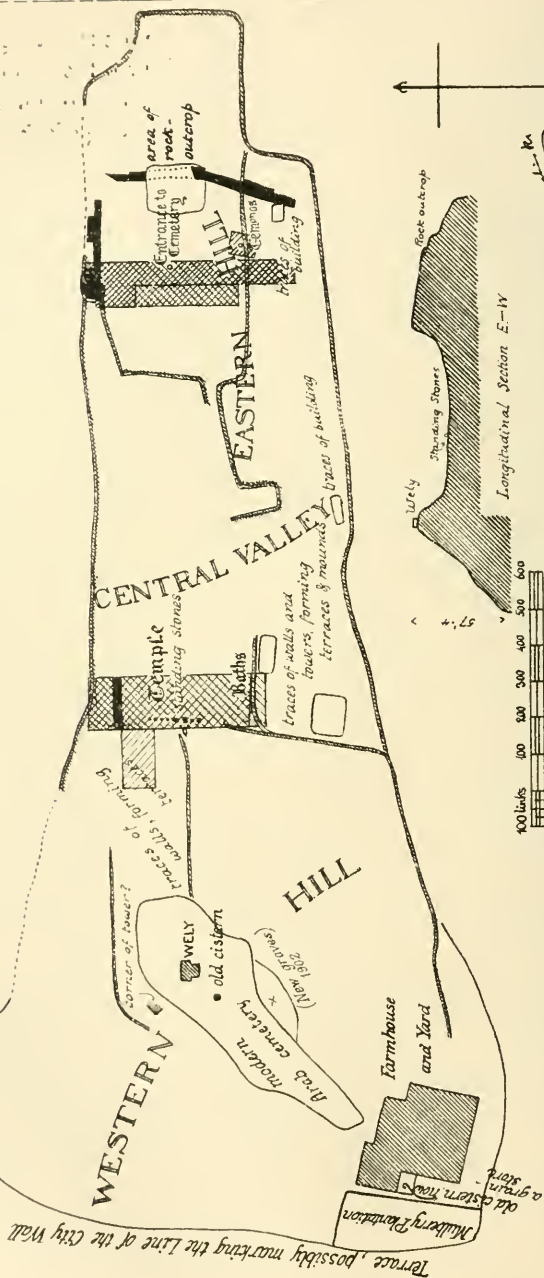
During his long term of office as Chairman, Mr. Glaisher watched with unremitting care the conduct of the surveys and excavations in Palestine, and the publication of the reports by which their results were made known to the subscribers. He very rarely missed a meeting of the Committee, and was ever ready to further any scheme which he thought would be to the interest of the Fund. His genial manner, and unusual energy and vitality will long be remembered by his colleagues. He seemed so strong and sound that when the Committee presented him with an address upon his entering his ninetieth year there was every reason to hope that he might live for another ten years, and complete his century. Even when increasing deafness obliged him to resign his position as Chairman, no one expected that the end would come so soon. After a long strenuous life he now rests in peace beneath the shadow of Shirley Church.

C. W. W.

EXCAVATION OF CEZER

PLAN OF THE SURFACE

Excavated before Report II.
" " since



THIRD QUARTERLY REPORT OF THE EXCAVATION OF GEZER.

(1 *November*—28 *February*, 1902.)

By R. A. STEWART MACALISTER, M.A., F.S.A.

§ I.—PRELIMINARY.

WHILE the last report was being written the northward spread of the cholera epidemic from the Gaza district, where it had first appeared in Palestine, was causing considerable uneasiness. Already the communications, both by road and by rail, between Jerusalem and Jaffa had been interrupted by quarantine restrictions, and for over a fortnight I had been unable to send to either town for money or for other necessities. Indeed, had it not been for the kindness of one of the local military authorities, whose favour was obtained by the good offices of Sourraya Effendi, the Imperial Commissioner, I should have been shut out from Ramleh also, and the provision market and post office would have been inaccessible; as it was, special permission was accorded to one of the camp servants to pass through the cordon surrounding the town so long as the immediate neighbourhood of the camp remained free from the disease. Within a week after the last report was forwarded, however, the epidemic reached Abu Shushch and Kubâb, the two villages from which the majority of the workmen are drawn, almost simultaneously, and it became obvious that the work must be suspended.

The camp was accordingly moved, in the middle of November, to the quarantine station at Bab el-Wâd, and 10 days later was transferred to Jerusalem. It was not possible to return to Abu Shushch till the end of January. The disease attacked Kubâb with especial violence, so that the Government officials thought it advisable to isolate it by a special military guard from the surrounding villages, otherwise it would have become a centre of infection for the whole district. The mortality in Abu Shushch, a small village, has been 31; that in Kubâb has been variously

estimated—I have heard the number put as high as 700, which must be an exaggeration; it cannot, however, have been less than 250. The deaths in Abu Shusheh have had an unfortunate result for the excavation, a number of new graves having been added to the cemetery which already cumbered an important part of the mound; a space some 40 feet square has thus been withdrawn from the surface previously available for excavation.

I am glad to report that I have lost only a few of my workmen. Their names are as follows:—Aḥmed ‘Ali, surnamed Shalbak, ‘Alī Moḥammed, surnamed Ka‘akirim, Amīn ‘Ali, Ḥasan ‘Abd-Allah, Ḥasan Salem, surnamed Sawwan, Ḥosein Ghandūr, Rashīd Muṣṭafa—all from Kubâb. Two of the women—namely, Subḥa ed-Dibwâni, of Abu Shusheh, and Subḥa Aḥmed, of Kubâb—have also died. The village of Zakariya, from which, thanks to their experience with Dr. Bliss, the most reliable workmen come, was passed over by the epidemic without a single case.

The present report will necessarily be brief, and I fear less interesting than its predecessors. I have no important discovery to chronicle this quarter. This was to be expected, for the actual period of digging reported on covers merely a single week in November and the short month of February—a month interrupted by frequent heavy rainstorms, which make excavation impossible while they last, and difficult when they are over, owing to the sodden condition in which they leave the ground.

§ II.—BUILDINGS.

Houses.—Information is gradually being accumulated on the normal arrangement of the Gezerite dwelling-houses. The subject is full of difficulty: for, though the material is ample, it is also fragmentary. Thus, the walls are nearly all so much dilapidated that, even when the complete outline of a room can be made out, in comparatively few cases does the threshold of the door remain. Hence it is often impossible to ascertain whether two adjacent chambers communicated, or whether they did not even belong to two different buildings.

It is, however, becoming clear that through all periods the houses consisted of two or three living rooms, say about 15 feet square, more or less—rarely much more—and a series of store chambers. The latter are always small—many of them mere

cupboards—three or four in number and separated by thin walls one from another. Their purpose is indicated by the presence of burnt grain which is often found, especially wheat, barley, and also peas or other vetches; I have not yet found olives here,

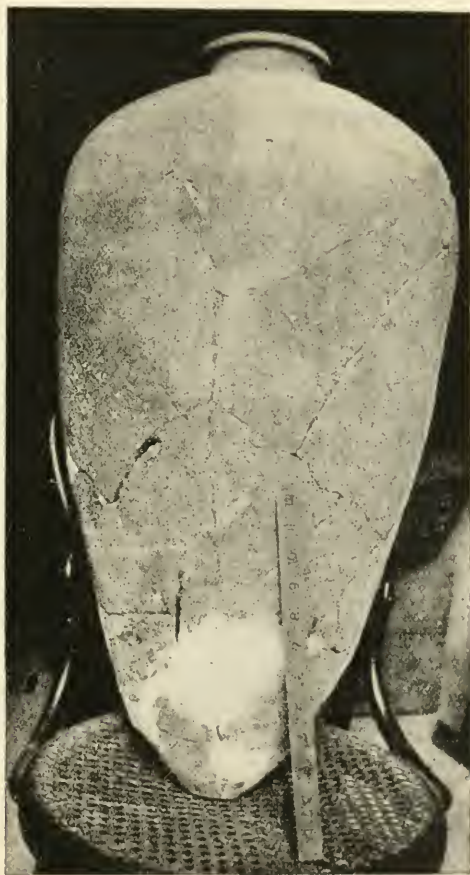


FIG. 1.—Large Vase used as a Grain Store.

though a mass of them was discovered on the rock at Tell Sandahannah. Grain was also stored in large earthenware jars, similar to those containing the bones of sacrificed infants in the temple. These jars, when filled, were buried in the ground in an upright position (Fig. 1).

The rooms were probably, as they are in modern houses in the country, roofed with flat coverings of wattle and mud. Many of the enclosures, which I am obliged to call "rooms," were probably, when complete, open unroofed courts. As to floors, these were almost always of beaten mud: indeed, in the majority of cases the floor-level is cut through in excavating without any special indication of its presence being noticed. Less commonly a floor of mortar or limestone paste is to be found.

In the ruins of individual houses details are occasionally found which are not very easy to comprehend. I send photographs of



FIG. 2.—Store Chambers (?).

three structures, all found at the south end of the temple trench.¹ The first, belonging to the fifth stratum, is a circle about 5 feet 6 inches in diameter: nothing was found in or about it to explain its purpose. Such circles not infrequently turn out to be the tops of the shafts of cisterns, but this was not so in the present case. Smaller circles than this—say, about 2 feet 6 inches in diameter—are not uncommon. Some of these seem to bear marks

¹ These and certain other photographs will be published in the concluding memoir.

of fire, and are perhaps hearths. The second, which belongs to the sixth occupation, is a curious ϕ -shaped structure (Fig. 2). I can but guess that this is a pair of D-shaped store-chambers. What to make of the third structure I have no idea. It is a solid circle of stones about 1 foot 3 inches in diameter. It is ancient, having been built within a foot of the rock. Could it have been a domestic altar?

Cisterns.—Probably in the modern villages round Gezer cisterns are few or little used: the copious spring of 'Ain Yerdeh, and the lesser Bîr et-Tirâsheh and Bêr el-Lusiye are freely accessible, and are inexhaustible throughout the year. But when the city was subject to sieges water from these natural sources could not always be obtained, and it was important to supply a sufficiency of reservoirs within the walls of the city.

Accordingly the rock was honeycombed with cisterns, one appropriated to each house or group of houses: it cannot yet be ascertained on what principle they were distributed through the town. Since the discovery of the second burial-cave, reported upon in January last, I have attached great importance to clearing out these cisterns whenever found: the chance of an equally remarkable discovery is worth the necessary expenditure of time. A considerable number of these excavations have now been examined, and curious finds have been made in them. There is always a large accumulation of potsherds, no doubt the fragments of vessels broken by careless dipping; a good many sound jugs have also been found, the cords by which they were dropped probably having broken. I have also found a small gold disc, which probably fell off a girl's head when she was drawing water; an Astarte-plaque of the usual type; several small jugs, such as would not naturally have been lowered for water; the bones of some unfortunate person who fell or was thrown into the water—a record sufficient to justify the slow and laborious process of emptying out the earth with which all are nearly filled. One of the jugs recently recovered is of a type of which no sound specimen has previously been found.

The cisterns themselves are fairly uniform in character. A circular shaft, about 3 feet in diameter and 5 feet deep, cut through the rock, expands downwards into a chamber roughly square or circular on plan, about 13 to 25 feet in diameter, and generally about 20 feet deep. In the centre of the floor, under the entrance,

is a hollow, from 6 to 18 inches deep. This is not, as I had at first supposed, for dipping in when the water is low; modern analogies show that it is for accumulating silt and impurities held in suspension in the water. The wall is generally covered with coarse plaster.

One cistern, the clearance of which has just been finished, was evidently enlarged from one of the more ancient troglodyte caves, the original steps of which appear at its entrance.

Oil Presses.—The extraction of oil and wine from olives and grapes was, as might be expected, an important branch of Gezer industry. Several specimens of the durable portions of the mechanism for this purpose have from time to time been found. I have on several occasions, in the *Quarterly Statement*, described or referred to rock-cut presses, such as are to be found everywhere in Palestine. When a rock-surface was unavailable—as would obviously be the case in the upper occupations on the tell—its place was supplied by a large flat stone, usually circular, about 5 feet in diameter. The top surface of this stone was slightly hollowed, and the olives were crushed within it; a series of channels radiating over the surface conducted the juice to a little cup deepened at one side of the hollow. In this cup the oil was collected.

Owing to the loss of the wooden appurtenances that completed the apparatus, it is not quite clear how the oil was pressed out. In but a small proportion of the presses I have examined is there any indication of the way in which the fruit was manipulated. No doubt in many cases the presses are for grapes, which would be trodden by the feet. In some examples, however—there is a notable series in the vineyards round Malḥah—the fruit was crushed by a heavy lever, the butt end of which fitted into a socket cut in the vertical wall at the back of the vat. Whether the curious screw apparatus, of which I send a photograph from a specimen at 'Ain Karim, had any existence in ancient times there is no evidence to show.

The large stone vats found in considerable numbers in all tells are, perhaps, for refining the oil or wine pressed out on these stone presses, the oil being allowed to stand in them till impurities had sunk to the bottom. A fine single example of such a vat, from Tell eṣ-Ṣâfi, is figured in BM., p. 24. I send illustrations of a group recently found at Gezer, which must be for some such special

purpose. An identical group was found within the Acropolis at Tell Zakariya.

Architectural Ornament.—Since Professor Petrie found certain slabs at Lachish, showing carved volutes and mouldings, no ornamental building-stone, certainly anterior to the Seleucidan period, has been found in Palestinian excavations. A certain interest, therefore, attaches to the base of a column, crude though it be, which was found at the extreme south of the trench containing the temple alignment (so far as it has been excavated). It belongs to Stratum Va, or possibly IV. In an upper stratum (VI) a stone curiously marked was found built into a wall. I send a photograph, but am unable to explain the marks.

Baths.—As yet Gezer has little to show of buildings for special purposes other than dwellings—of course, with the signal exception of the great Temple. Perhaps the most remarkable are a pair of large tanks, associated with the Maccabæan stratum, but sunk through the lower cities. These have been found south of the Temple.

The City Walls.—Some particulars may here conveniently be given respecting the city walls, so far as excavation has thrown light on their rather complex history.

I. The earliest defence adopted by the inhabitants of Gezer was an earth bank of no great height, lined inside and outside with stones. A section of this rampart, with the dimensions (which are not, however, uniform throughout its length) figured, will be seen on Plate IV. This wall has been found in the trenches both in the Eastern Hill and in the Central Valley on the north side: I have not yet carried the excavations far enough southward to pick it up at the other end of the trenches. It may, however, be fairly deduced that it surrounds the whole tell. No gate has yet been found in it.

This rampart is founded on the rock, and might be taken as the work of the most primitive inhabitants, save for one circumstance. It is built up against the standing stone already illustrated (*Quarterly Statement*, October, 1902, p. 323), which presumably existed previously in the line the builders intended to take. This suggests to me that the standing stone is a monument of the primitive pre-Amorite inhabitants, and the earth wall the work of the earliest Semitic settlers, whose occupation commences with the third stratum.

II. The second defence in point of time runs outside the line of this rampart. It has been traced for a length of 206 feet, running from the large tower at the north end of the trench already opened on the Eastern Hill (*see* Plate I) to the north-east corner of the enclosure, and just inside the line of the great wall indicated on the plate. Its line seems coincident with that of the great wall, which evidently superseded it along the eastern end of the town. I think I have found it again at the south side, but am not yet sure. It is much ruined, and has apparently been used as a quarry along its inner face in different places, for though the line of the outer face remains constant the thickness of the wall ranges from 2 feet 6 inches to 11 feet. The only detail yet found in this wall is a solid square tower, just inside and partly concealed by the tower on the outer wall to which reference has just been made. West of this tower the wall stops abruptly, and no trace of it is to be found. I suspect that in this tower I have the eastern jamb of a gate, the western jamb of which will be revealed when the next trench is opened on the Eastern Hill.

This second wall has not been found in the central valley, and must therefore be confined to the Eastern Hill. It is too early yet to speculate on this point, so I merely content myself with indicating its importance in passing. It will throw the Temple and its human sacrifices to their proper place outside the city wall, and thus get rid of a difficulty to which I referred in my previous report.

III. The third wall is the splendid structure I have already briefly described (*Quarterly Statement*, October, 1902, p. 320). There is as yet little to add to this description. The course of the wall, as each section is laid bare, is added to the plan accompanying the quarterly reports on the excavation (*see* Plate I).

The chronology of this wall and that just described can conveniently be considered together. The fact just mentioned, that the inner face of a tower of the third wall overlaps the outer face of a tower of the second, is an indication that the two are not contemporary. The assigning of the earth rampart to the third stratum gives us a major limit of date. A minor limit is indicated by the fact that the third wall circumscribes the whole tell, and therefore must have been built when the whole tell was inhabited—for we can hardly consider it probable that the townsmen would incur the expense of enclosing a large unoccupied area within their town wall, thereby lengthening unnecessarily the course of the wall

that had to be built and defended. The latest date for the great wall is consequently that of the fifth stratum. We may therefore with probability assign the second wall to the fourth stratum.

The great wall, however, shows evident signs of having been added to and strengthened. This is most clear at the north-east and south-east corners. (A plan and isometric sketch of the former will be found on Plate II, p. 116.)

At the corner is a solid four-sided tower, not quite rectangular, about 24 feet by 31 feet. Against this tower the ends of the great wall butt without bonding. The tower is well built, with drafted corner stones, and (one would think) was intended to be exposed: but it is concealed by a battering face of stones built against it. This also is not bonded with any masonry with which it comes in contact.

The only reasonable explanation of this complex structure seems to me to be as follows:—The wall originally met at a simple angle without a tower. This was not considered safe or strong enough and the angle was cut out and the square tower built in. The want of bond was felt to be a weakness, and the battering outer face was built up to conceal the joints.

The great tower with battering face at the north end of the trench on the Eastern Hill is also applied to the wall, or rather to a small projection about 1 foot in thickness, without bond; and it is probable that this tower was added at the same time as the reconstruction of the corner. The only historical event known which would account for these elaborate fortifications is the repair of the city by Solomon; and it is not improbable that in these towers we have his work.

The south-east corner is identical with that at the north-east, save that the inner (second) wall is not found at this point.

IV. In my last report I referred to a large wall that might be the boundary of the temple enclosure (*Quarterly Statement*, January, 1903, p. 35). I am now convinced that this is impossible, and that we have here another city wall. It is nearly as massive as the great wall, but seems to have been built with haste, for it is not founded on the rock—indeed, in places its foundations are not as deep as the level of the temple, which is quite sufficient to disprove any connection between them. It is not found on the Eastern Hill, therefore must be later than the settlements there, for it is too massive to be a mere acropolis wall inside the outer

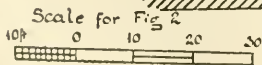
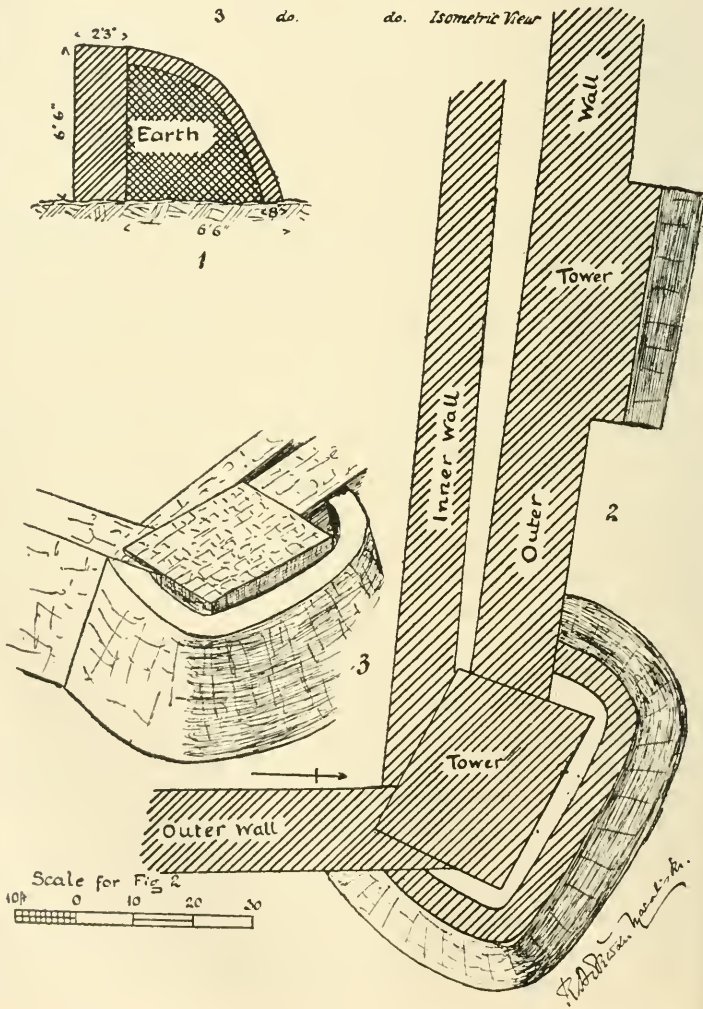
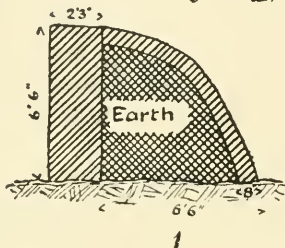
EXCAVATION OF CEZER

DETAILS OF THE CITY WALLS

1. Section of the Earth Rampart

2 N.E. Corner, (Third Wall). Plan

3 do. do. Isometric View



Handwritten signature: H. H. ...

city wall, such as was found at Zakariya.¹ It must therefore be post-Solomonic and probably post-Exilic. I am inclined to connect it with 1 Maccabees ix, 52, which names Gezer (Gazara) among places fortified by Bacchides. The sign of haste just mentioned well fits with this identification: if it be objected that the wall, even as it stands, is too great a work for Bacchides to carry through in the time at his disposal, it may be answered that the third wall runs within a few feet and affords an almost inexhaustible quarry.

§ III.—STONE OBJECTS.

Flint.—Nothing new has been found. But a splendid core, from which knives had been flaked off, is well worth mentioning. It is 6 inches in height.

Weights.—A large number of stone weights in dolerite, or some similar dark rough stone, have been accumulated. They have flat bases, and are cylindrical or dome-shaped. At first I was inclined to take them for pounders or pestles; but the discovery of some examples too small to be grasped in the hand, and too light to serve the suggested purpose, made me cognisant of their real nature. Some are reduced to the required weight by cutting a hollow depression in the base.

A small dome-shaped weight when examined in Jerusalem was found to have faint traces of letters upon it. These were distinct enough to make the reading נצח certain. It is the lightest perfect weight yet found so inscribed, being 9·28 grammes, as against three from Tell Zakariya weighing respectively 9·45, 10, and 10·21 grammes.

Whistle.—One of the most curious objects yet found is a whistle of steatite from the fifth stratum. It is represented in the accompanying cut (Fig. 3). It is conical in shape, 4 inches long, $1\frac{1}{8}$ inches in maximum diameter at the end, slightly under $\frac{1}{2}$ inch at the mouthpiece. A reed, of the

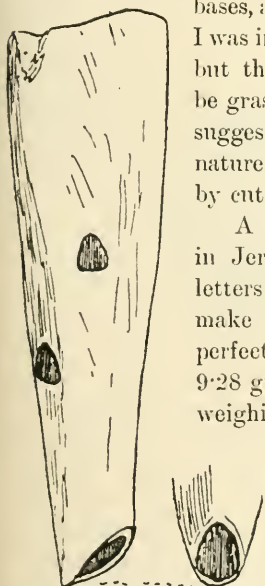


FIG. 3.—Stone Whistle.

kind employed in that abomination, the Palestine shepherd's pipe,

¹ In a recent visit to Tell Zakariya I found a few stones rather low down on the north side of the tell, evidently a fragment of the wall surrounding the whole hill. These had, I think, previously escaped notice.

The quern-stones differ from the modern type now found all over the world, in Palestine as in the Hebrides. They are always small, rarely being as much as a foot across. The second hole, for a stick by which the upper stone is rotated, is never found.

The lower stone is always more massive than the upper, it is generally slightly hollowed on its upper surface so as to have a raised collar all round (but not invariably), and shows a hole in the middle partially penetrating through the stone. The upper stone is distinguished by the central hole, which is wide, countersunk, and pierces through the stone.



FIG. 4.—Quern-stones.

It is not quite obvious how these stones were manipulated. My own idea is that a rather narrow spindle was run through the holes, and that the upper stone was grasped with both hands (the fingers clasping the edge, the thumbs being between the spindle and the stone) and worked through about one-third of a rotation, backward and forward. From time to time the machine would be fed, probably by a second person, with fresh grain poured through the spindle-hole.

There are occasional varieties of this type found, one of which is shown in the accompanying cut (Fig. 4). The upper stone, instead of having a hole, has a projecting conical horn which fits

into the hole in the lower stone. The upper stone is broken, and only a small portion was found. In the second there is no hole or projection in the upper stone, which is simply kept in position by the raised collar of the nether stone. A hole in the centre of the nether stone suggests that the present upper stone may have been a makeshift substitute for a stone that had got lost or broken.

§ IV.—METAL OBJECTS.

The harvest of metal objects has been very scanty this quarter, and of discoveries the number worth special notice is extremely small. These are :—

In *bronze*, a fine anklet fastened by a couple of wires twisted round the ends of the ring and plaited on each other by a complex spiral knot, and an equally fine chisel.

In *iron*, a spike with a socket, probably an ox-goad, or perhaps a chape, for the end of a spear, and a key.

In *gold*, the small pendant ornament already referred to as having been found in a cistern. It is ornamented with rows of dots in repoussé.

§ V.—POTTERY.

We may for the present pass over the majority of the objects in pottery, none of which are of any special importance, with the

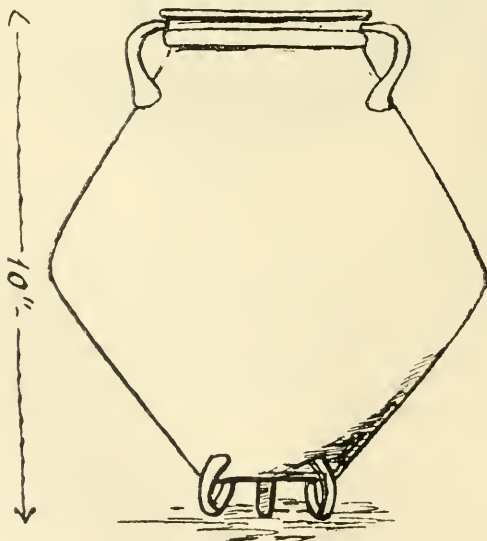


FIG. 5.—Jar with Three Handle-shaped Legs.

exception of a jar, recovered from one of the cisterns. This is peculiar in having had three handle-shaped legs supporting it: one of these remains intact. Fragments of pots of this type have previously been found at Gezer and elsewhere; but no nearly complete specimen has till now been discovered. It is represented in Fig. 5.

An interesting painted jug of the Jewish period, with the neck ornamented with curious anchor-like devices in red and black, was also brought to light.



FIG. 6.—Vessels Buried with Sacrificed Infants.

Fig. 6 illustrates a set of three vessels, found previous to the forwarding of the last report, but not photographed till afterwards. They are interesting as having been deposited in a large jar with one of the sacrificed infants in the Temple. It is not easy to guess the reason for these deposits. Were they food-vessels?

Compared with other tells—notably Tell ej-Judeideh—the Jewish stratum at Gezer has proved very poor in jar-handles with Hebrew stamps. Till the present quarter no example of handles with the seals of private potters had been found at all. I have now to record the discovery of two: the decipherment of both have,

however, so far beaten me.¹ One of these, found on the eve of forwarding this report, is the only one I have yet seen with the stamp repeated twice on the handle. I hope to return to these handles in a subsequent report.

§ VI.—EGYPTIAN OBJECTS.

The last quarter has been fairly productive in objects of Egyptian provenance, a selection of which are represented on Plate III. The principal hoard was found in a chamber in the fifth stratum, south of one of the two great baths above described. These objects were as follows:—

A large collection of coloured paste beads, mostly spherical, but some cylindrical. Also one or two of carnelian.

Two scarabs, one (figured) of large size, each of them bearing the legend *M'at-Ra-nub* [Maat-ra-nub].

Fragment of a jade scaraboid with the hinder half of an animal's figure upon it.

Head of Sebek in paste, enamelled yellow and blue.

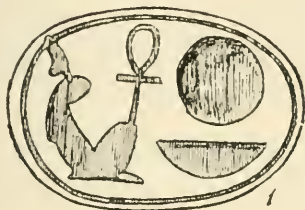
Two cylinders, figured with the above, were found in the same place.

A selection of these objects is shown on Figs. 1–5 of the plate. Besides these there have been found a small pendant Sekhet head in green enamel paste (lower part, sixth stratum); a scaraboid with *M'* (Maa) feathers on one side, and *'Imn* (Amen) on the other (Fig. 6, *a*, rather deeper than the last); fragments of a Horus-eye, and two fragments of Bes figures (the eye and one Bes from stratum V; the other Bes from a cistern); a scarab with two *'nh* (ankh) and *nb* below (Fig. 6; under part, fifth stratum); a minute figure of a lion (?) in green paste (fourth stratum); a scarab, probably late, with a plain device on the base, from immediately under the surface outside the wall of Bacchides (Fig. 7); and four jar-handles with scarab stamps upon them (Figs. 8–11). The decipherments of the latter I offer with considerable hesitation: they are excessively difficult to make out. The portions shown are drawn, as indeed are all the figures on this plate, with the camera lucida.

¹ Of one of these, the bottom half of the seal is not impressed on the handle. The top half has four letters, which may be תוֹיִן, but there is considerable doubt as to the first two letters. No such name is known.

EXCAVATION OF CEZER

SCARABS, &c



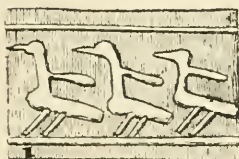
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4



5



6



6a



7



8



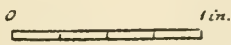
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10



11



R. A. S. H. Mason, Facsimile

§ VII.—CORRECTIONS AND OBSERVATIONS ON PREVIOUS REPORTS.

October, 1902, p. 321. The stone circle here described was destroyed by some mischievous boys herding sheep on the tell. I took this as a not altogether unmixed evil, for it left the site of the circle free for examination. I should have myself been unwilling to destroy the structure. The opportunity was taken, but nothing was found.

Page 328. It has been suggested to me that Fig. 4, *c*, may be a fish-hook. This occurred to me, but I felt that the object was too like an ordinary pin, bent, to be assigned to so specific a use. Besides, there are no known fish-ponds or streams anywhere near Gezer. Professor Petrie kindly informs me that two specimens resembling Fig. 4, *d*, were found at Gurob, Fayoum.

Page 329, line 6 from end. *For* tong-like *read* tongs-like.

Page 335, line 19. *For* stands *read* sherds.

Page 336. Professor Petrie calls my attention to the fact that some of the potter's marks illustrated on this page are found in the "Egypto-Mediterranean Signary."



Page 337, line 5. *For* B. MMC., Plate LXII, *read* B. MMC., p. 62.

Page 338, line 30. *For* spindle-wheel *read* spindle-whorl; also at p. 39, line 1, *January*, 1903.

Page 338, foot-note. *For* cross-patching *read* cross-hatching.





Page 352. The removal of the walls round about the Burial Cave entrance some days after I had sent the report to England, and the cleaning of the rock surface, revealed a larger number of cup-marks in connection with the cave and the *massébáh* than I had previously suspected.

Page 363. On a second visit to the stone circle here mentioned, I came to the conclusion that it was probably not an artificial structure at all.

January, 1903, p. 9, line 29. *For* sandstone *read* syenite. Add  after  inside the ring in the line of hieroglyphic writing.

Page 16. The knife and two spearheads figured on Plate II fell hopelessly to pieces shortly after they were found.

Page 28, line 27. *For* Appendix F *read* Appendix D.

Page 37, line 5, of hieroglyphic writing. For  read , and after  insert .

Page 38, line 25. For $4\frac{3}{4}$ inches thick read $4\frac{3}{4}$ inches by 1 inch thick.

Page 39, line 10. For amulets read annulets.

Page 42, line 1 under the figure. For embossed upon read attached to.

Page 43, line 3. For the branches read other branches.

Also in Plate VIII, October, 1902, read $\frac{1 \text{ foot}}{2 \text{ feet}}$ for $\frac{2 \text{ inches}}{2 \text{ inches}}$ at the left-hand end of the upper scale.

ARCHÆOLOGICAL AND EPIGRAPHIC NOTES ON PALESTINE.

By Professor CLERMONT-GANNEAU, M.I.

22. *The "Gate of Nicanor" in the Temple of Jerusalem.*—The Committee of the Palestine Exploration Fund has been kind enough to submit to me the squeeze of a bilingual Greek and Hebrew inscription, which was noticed by Miss Gladys Dickson¹ on an ossuary from a sepulchral cave in the neighbourhood of Jerusalem.² The text is lengthier than the inscriptions usually found upon the small funerary vessels which belong to Jewish archæology, and is easily read. Its historical interest, if I am not mistaken, is of the first rank.

¹ [According to Miss Dickson's letter, "this ossuary is 2 feet $8\frac{1}{2}$ inches long by 11 inches by 1 foot, and is ornamented on both sides, on one end, and on the lid. On the remaining end is the inscription lightly engraved. The ornamentation on the one side, the end, and the lid consists of roughly painted red lines, forming zigzags and frets. The other side is ornamented by four small circles containing sexfoils, and set in square panels, divided by borders (all painted)."]

² For reasons which will readily be understood, I refrain from indicating more precisely the place where it was found. I merely limit myself to the remark that the ossuary, which was found along with many others, is adorned with sculpture.

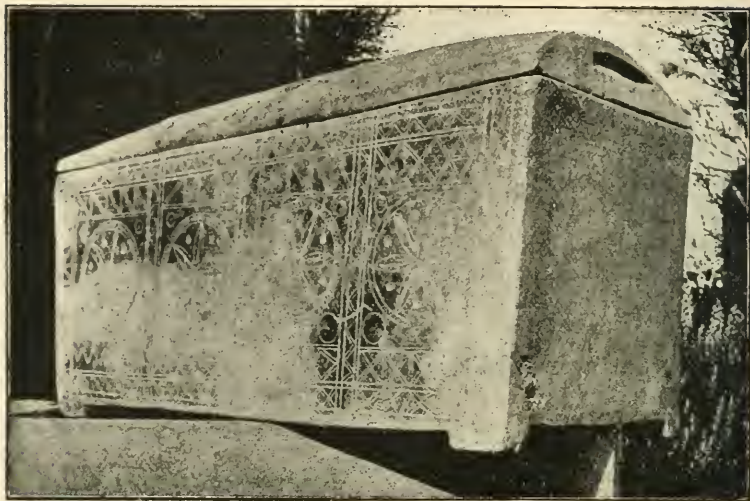


FIG. 1.—Inscribed Ossuary.

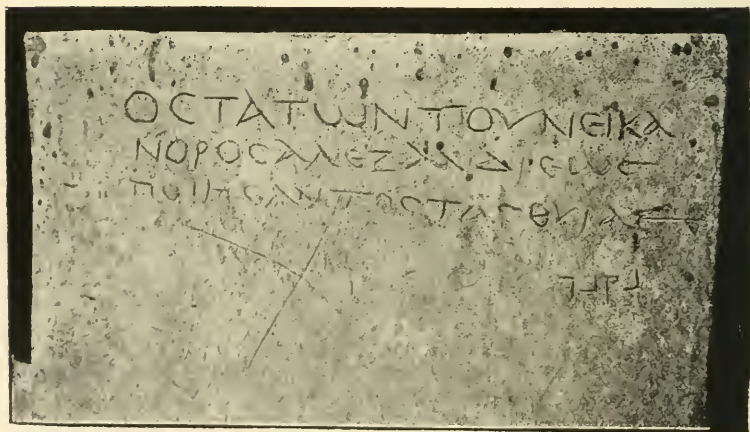


FIG. 2.—Inscription on Ossuary.

Ὅστα τῶν τοῦ Νικάνορος Ἀλεξανδρείως ποιήσαντος τὰς θύρας.

נקר אלכסא

"The bones of the (sons or descendants?) of Nicanor, the Alexandrian, who made the doors.—NICANOR ALEKSA."¹

¹ The inscription is accompanied with a big mark in the shape of a X

The Greek letters, though of the cursive type, are carefully written, and may easily go back to the commencement of the Christian era.¹ The Hebrew letters belong to the "square character" of similar ossuaries.² The style of the inscription—the article in the plural followed by a proper name in the genitive—is frequent enough in the Greek epigraphy of the Haurân,³ where it serves to designate the family or the tribe to which an individual belongs. In this inscription it can scarcely refer to any other than the family or descendants of Nicanor, and in view of the nature of the vessel, the collective use is at first sight somewhat surprising, since these little stone chests generally have a purely individual character. Intended, as they are, to receive the bones of the skeletons removed from the *loculi* in the sepulchre as fresh bodies were inhumed, each usually received the remains of a single person, as is shown by the short inscriptions which have been found graven upon them. I should add, however, that I have sometimes found *in situ*, in certain ancient sepulchres of the Jewish cemeteries of Jerusalem, ossuaries containing the bones of two persons, the evidence being the presence of two skulls and the tenour of the inscriptions. Sometimes, even, I have remarked the existence of an accumulation of bones that could only belong to several skeletons. Such may be the case here, although one is a little embarrassed by the fact that the Hebrew inscription simply preserves the name Nicanor, which leads to the belief that the ossuary contained the bones of this individual only, and not those of other persons belonging to his family. A difficulty still remains,

boldly traced. I have already had occasion to call attention to analogous signs, whether on ossuary inscriptions of the same kind or not (*cf.*, for example, my *Archæological Researches in Palestine*, vol. i, pp. 395, 403, 409).

¹ [Canon Hicks observes that the Greek lettering is in the beautiful regular cursive hand which was common in Egypt in *papyrus-writing* throughout the last two centuries B.C. Such cursive forms did not come into common use in public *inscriptions* until the Christian era. But in *ex voto* and similar private or semi-private inscriptions the cursive character was not uncommon (or at least not forbidden). It is hardly safe, therefore, to build an argument as to date upon the Greek writing in this case. It is so good and scholarly that Canon Hicks concludes that he is inclined to put it at as early a date as is consistent with the evidence of the Hebrew.—ED.]

² Numerous specimens will be found in my *Archæological Researches in Palestine*, vol. i, pp. 381–454. One will not fail to notice the peculiar form of the *kaph*—not curved at the lower extremity and resembling the final *kaph*.

³ *Cf.* Waddington, *Inscr. gr. et lat. de Syrie*, Nos. 2251, 2258, 2339, 2348.

which, however, I do not venture to remove by the assumption that the Greek expression is equivalent to ὅστω τῶν (ὁστών) τοῦ Νεικάνωρος, "the bones belonging to those of Nicanor." This would allow us to reconcile the Greek and Hebrew inscriptions, but is against all analogy and Greek usage.

It will be noticed that the Hebrew has faithfully reproduced the name Νεικάνωρ: נִקְנֹר,¹ but without any *matres lectionis*, a sign of comparative antiquity. In the Rabbinical writings, where it appears as a well-known Hellenic name, to which I shall presently return, it is always written fully נִיקְנֹר. The word אֶלְכָּסָא, which follows in our inscription, often recurs in Talmudic literature as a masculine proper name;² we even hear of a Rabbi Alaksâ or Aleksâ: undoubtedly the transcription of a Greek name which, like so many others, has passed into the Jewish onomasticon.³ Nevertheless, it seems to me rather difficult to treat אֶלְכָּסָא here as the name of a person: Nicanor's second name, for example, or the name of his father—in the latter case it would surely have been preceded by בֶּן (or בֵּר), "son." I would prefer to see in the name an ethnic, equivalent to Ἀλεξανδρέως, "Alexandrian" in the Greek. It is true that the ordinary form in post-biblical Hebrew is אֶלְכָּסְדֹרִי, but one may suppose that אֶלְכָּסָא was a popular abbreviation. I am not indisposed to think, even, that this abbreviation took birth upon Greek soil, and that the name Ἀλεξᾶς is properly a contraction of Ἀλεξανδρεύς, and originally meant "the Alexandrian." It is well known that in certain familiar Greek names the ending ᾶς is often the sign of a strong contraction—Ἐπαφρᾶς = Ἐπαφρόδειτος, Κλεόπας = Κλεόπατρος, &c. It had already been conjectured that Ἀλεξᾶς might be contracted from Ἀλέξανδρος⁴—it could very well also be from Ἀλεξανδρεύς. Numerous proper

¹ The third character is perfect, and identical with the first. It is therefore impossible to read נִקְבֹר " (Aleksa) has been buried."

² Borne by Jews as well as by heathen, see Levy, *Neuhebr. Wörterb.*, s.v.; cf. Chajes, *Beitr. z. nordsem. Onomatol.*, p. 9, who wrongly connects the Nab. inscription, *C.I.S.*, ii, No. 197, where the name is really אֶלְכָּסִי and not אֶלְכָּסָא, and appears to correspond to the form Ἀλέξιος or Ἀλεξίς.

³ Not of Ἀλεξίς, as Frankel conjectures (*apud* Chajes, *l.c.*), nor of Ἀλεξῶ (a female name), as Krauss supposes (*ib.*), but rather of Ἀλεξᾶς. For Jewish bearers of this name, cf., among others, the brother-in-law of Herod the Great, Alexas Helkias, son of Alexas (*Jos. Ant.* xvii, 1, 1; xviii, 8, 4), and one of the heroes of the siege of Titus (*id. B.J.*, vi, 1, 8; 2, 6).

⁴ Pape-Benseler, *op. cit.*, i, p. xviii.

names were originally real ethnics, evidence of which I have often had occasion to bring forward. Especially favourable to the above view is the fact that the regular ethnic אלכסנדרי actually appears in Talmudic literature as a proper name.¹

I now reach the most curious part of our text : what could these "doors" have been which Nicanor is said to have made ? We need not stop to consider seriously whether it refers to the doors of the sepulchre itself, so trivial a performance would scarcely have been noticed. The reference is evidently to some memorable deed which one loved to recall in honour of the family. I believe that by "the doors" we are to understand the famous door of the Temple of Herod, known as the "Gate of Nicanor," after the rich individual who had presented it to the sanctuary. Everything goes to prove it : the details preserved in the Talmud, as well as those furnished by Josephus.² They may be summed up as follows :—The Gate of Nicanor led from the Women's Court to the Court of the Israelites, hard by the Priests' Court to the east of the *naos*. It was approached by a flight of 15 steps. In dimensions and magnificence it surpassed all the other gates of the sanctuary. Fifty cubits high and 40 wide, the gates were of Corinthian bronze, covered with thick plates of gold and silver, beautifully worked. At least 20 men were required to turn these massive gates upon their hinges. They had been brought from *Alexandria* by a certain Nicanor who probably belonged to the wealthy Jewish colony of this city, and had executed this magnificent work at his own expense.³ According to the Talmud, miracles (ניסים) were performed on account of these gates. It relates at length that Nicanor had made at his own expense at Alexandria two leaves of the gate for the Temple. As they were being brought by sea a storm arose and the sailors cast one of them overboard. In spite of this the ship continued to be in

¹ Thus we know of a Rabbi Alexandri, Levy, *op. cit.*, s.v. ; cf. the curious Talmudic passage there cited, whence it seems to follow that the name Benjamin could correspond to Alexandri as does Yehudah to Rufus, &c. For variants of this passage, cf. my *Archæol. Researches*, i, p. 136.

² For details and references, see Munk, *Palestine*, p. 552 ; Mishna, *Yoma*, iii, 10 ; and the commentary of Maimonides ; Talm. Bab. *Yoma*, fol. 38a ; cf. Jos. *B.J.*, v, 5, 3 ; vi, 5, 3, who describes the same gate, but without naming it.

³ Gifts of this kind were not rare. Similarly, Tiberius, father of Alexander, probably an Alexandrian, had also furnished the gold and silver for the ornamentation of the nine gates of the temple (Jos. *B.J.*, v, 5, 3).

danger, and the sailors prepared to throw away the other. Nicanor, in despair at the loss of his precious work, besought them to cast him over also. The storm having abated, Nicanor disembarked at Acre, and a huge fish vomited out the leaf (which it had swallowed), with the result that Nicanor had the happiness of being able to bring his offering to the Temple complete.

The Talmud, as we have seen, speaks of "miracles" in the plural. Perhaps there is an allusion to another wonder, which is related by Josephus apropos of this gate (*B.J.* vi. 5, 3), along with other prodigies which, according to popular belief, gave warning of the imminence of the destruction of Jerusalem and of the Temple by Titus.¹ This gate, which was usually so difficult to move, and was closed nightly by the united efforts of 20 men, impelled by some supernatural force, opened of its own accord towards midnight to the general stupefaction of everyone.

These legends, the first of which presents details apparently inspired by the story of Jonah, bears witness at least to the popularity which the Gate of Nicanor possessed. I do not think I am mistaken in concluding that the Nicanor of our inscription is no other than this historical personage; the correspondence is complete in all essentials; he is called *Nicanor*, he is of *Alexandria*, and he is said to have *made the gates* (τὰς θύρας = רלתות)² — no Jew of the period, in the presence of a text so worded, could misunderstand the meaning and fail to recognise the donor whose name was upon every lip.

There is no need for me to insist upon the results that follow this identification. This can only be done fully when more is known of the sepulchre where our ossuary and the other ossuaries associated with it were found. But we may feel satisfied, in the meantime, that we now possess an invaluable datum for the chronological classification, not only of such ossuaries, but also of the Greek and Hebrew inscriptions which they so often bear.

[Mr. Macalister, who has had an opportunity of examining the ossuary itself, observes that the engraver of the inscription "evidently became weary of his work at an early stage. The

¹ The appearance of a comet; a sudden illumination by night of the altar and the Temple; a cow giving birth to a lamb in the middle of the Temple as it was going to be sacrificed.

² These are properly the folding-doors or leaves; for a gate in the architectural sense, that is to say, the gate or doorway, the word πύλη = שַׁעַר or פֶּתַח would have been employed.

opening letters are cut with a boldness and distinctness rare in ossuary inscriptions (which are generally feeble and almost illegible scrawls). But as the inscription advances, signs of carelessness and haste make their appearance, till at the end of the Hebrew words the letters are faintly scratched—indeed, nearly invisible.” The difficulty constituted by the opening words, *ὁστῶ τῶν τοῦ Ν.*, would be removed if we accept Mr. Macalister’s ingenious suggestion that *ὁστατῶν* is one word—a *ἄπαξ λεγόμενον*—with the obvious and suitable meaning “receptacle for bones.” As analogies for this form such words as *ἀμπελών*, “place for vines, vineyard,” *παρθενών*, “chamber for young women,” *περιστερεών*, “*columbarium*,” are cited by Mr. Macalister and others. But the explanation of the *τ* would seem to form a serious objection (note *ὁστοθήκη*), though, to be sure, Mr. Macalister himself inclines to the view that it is enphonic, and that the whole word was provincial or local. M. Clermont-Ganneau also points out how closely *ὁστατῶν* would resemble the word *אֶסְתֹּדָנָה*, *ostôdanah*, “sepulchre,” an Aramaic word of Iranian origin on an inscription of the fifth or fourth century B.C. Has the word been Græcised?—ED.]

23. *An Inscribed Altar at Kadesh-Naphtali*.—In 1865 Sir Charles Wilson discovered at Kades, the ancient Kedesh of Naphtali in Galilee, to the north-east of Lake Hûleh, a stone altar with a Greek inscription. In a letter, reproduced in the *Memoirs* of the Palestine Exploration Fund (vol. i, p. 229), he confines himself to briefly mentioning this monument, which appears to have been unnoticed by explorers of the remarkable ruins of Kadesh, whether before or after, and to have been unfortunately regarded as lost for ever.¹ This is the more regrettable since in all probability the altar belonged to the temple near which it was found, and the inscription might have afforded valuable information regarding the deity in whose honour this magnificent sanctuary was consecrated.

Sir Charles Wilson, in his letter, dated January, 1866, remarks that he was not able to decipher the inscription, but had taken a squeeze and copy of it. My attention having been attracted recently by this note, I requested permission to examine the documents referred to. But in spite of search in the archives of

¹ The only remaining hope is that the altar has been removed by some Syrian dealer, and thence sold, without any indication of its origin as usual. In this case the information here published may possibly lead to its identification.

the Palestine Exploration Fund, it was impossible to discover the squeeze, which seems to have disappeared in the course of some removal at the Fund's offices.

An outline sketch is all that is preserved. It was executed at the spot with that conscientious care that characterises Sir Charles Wilson's surveying, and allows one not only to form an accurate idea of the monument as a whole, but also, as I shall presently point out, to read an important part of the inscription.

One of the two faces of the altar shows, sculptured in bas-relief, the head of a man, full-face, bearded, covered with a sort of veil

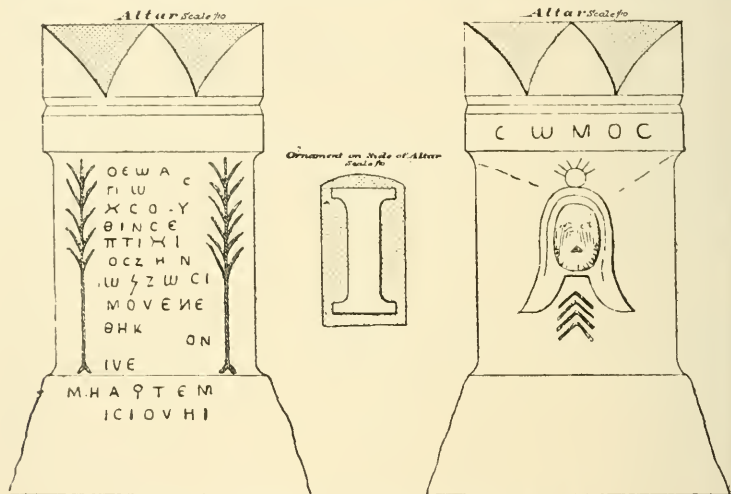


FIG. 3.—An Inscribed Altar at Kedesh-Naphtali.

falling over in two points on the right and left, and surmounted by a small disc upon which is an aigrette with six rays. Below this head, which is hammered in parts, at the height of the chest are figured four chevrons. It is probable that we have here a representation of the god to whom the altar was dedicated. But what god? A Zeus, Serapis, Chronos, Helios, Asclepius, &c., corresponding of course to some Semitic god or other? The image is not sufficient for us to decide the question. The answer should be found in the dedication which is engraved upon the other face, to a study of which I now proceed. Upon the border which runs above the head of the god are carved five Greek characters of a rather low period—**CWMOC**—which do not afford any satisfactory sense.

I am rather inclined to correct to (B)ΩMOC=βωμός, "altar." If this is indeed the true reading, one may suppose that the word was accompanied by the name of some god in the genitive, and that this name was engraved below the head, upon the base of the altar. Some accident, if it has not led to its disappearance, at least has rendered it invisible.

The other face¹ bears an inscription of 12 lines engraved between two lofty palms—or, perhaps, two trees or shrubs with boughs pointing upwards. The last two lines are on the base, an arrangement which tends to justify the conjecture that a word to complete (β)ωμός possibly stood in a corresponding position upon the other face of the stone. After a few palaeographical corrections—some obvious, others perhaps doubtful—have been made, the following is the reading which I believe may be obtained from this copy, which, though certainly faithful, has unfortunately been made from an original which has suffered somewhat:—

(Θ)εῷ ἁγίῳ Σεπτίμιος Ζήνων(ν) Ζωσίμου (ἠ)νέθικ(ε)ν, **IVE** ?
μη(νὸς) Ἀ(ρ)τεμισίου η'.

"To the holy god . . . Septimius Zenon, son of Zōsimos, dedicated, in the year . . . the 8th of the month Artemisios."

In the first place, some palaeographical peculiarities may be noticed (due allowance being made of course for the exactness of the reproduction); the form of the final ν in Ζήνων, which has a singular resemblance to the Phœnician *nūn*; that of the ρ in Ἀρτεμισίου; the first ν of ἀνέθικεν, which is reversed. The names Zōsimos, and more especially Zenon, are very common in the Syro-Greek inscriptions, and there are good grounds for believing that the latter corresponds to theophorous Phœnician names compounded with Baal²—this may very well be the case here.

The date is very doubtful. The year is evidently expressed in the group **IVE**. But how is it to be interpreted? Is it even complete? One is tempted to read (L)**YE** = λ.υ', with L to indicate the year, in accordance with Egyptian usage, examples of which are also to be found in Syrian inscriptions. This, then, will be "the year 405." But since, lower down, 18 is written η',

¹ I may note, in passing, the symbolical object of uncertain character (a cippus?) which is carved upon one of the sides.

² See, on this question, my memoir, *Stèles peintes de Sidon* (in the *Gazette Archéol.*, 1877, p. 102 *et seq.*), cf. the *Rec. d'Arch. Orient.* 1, pp. 5, 187.

and not $\epsilon\eta'$, one would rather have expected the two letters, $\nu\epsilon'$, to have been transposed—viz., $\epsilon\nu'$. Perhaps, consequently, we must read $\text{LY}' = 410$, and regard the ϵ as belonging to the word $\epsilon\tau\omicron\upsilon\varsigma$, “years,” written either in full or more or less abbreviated? Finally, whether the year be 405, 410, or any other number, to what era does it belong? As regards this last question, it seems to me to be difficult at all events to treat it as any other than the era of Tyre (126–125 B.C.).¹ Kadesh in Galilee, owing to its geographical position, actually belonged to the district of Tyre, and in this respect history is in agreement with geography. It is sufficient to recall what Josephus says of the city:— $\text{Κέδασαν τὴν Τυρίων}$, and elsewhere $\text{Κυδυσσοῖς . . . μεσόγειος δὲ ἐστὶ Τυρίων κώμη καρτερά}$.² The year 405 or 410 of the Tyrian era would correspond to the year 284–285, or 279–280 of the Christian era, a period that would agree very well with the palæographical evidence of the inscription. The month and the day of the month being specified, we can date it with greater precision. We are accurately acquainted with the Tyrian calendar which would naturally be employed here along with the Tyrian era, and since Artemisios, the eighth month of this calendar, corresponds to May 19–June 18, we have in consequence the following equations:—

$$18 \text{ Artemisios } \left\{ \begin{array}{l} 405 \\ 410 \end{array} \right\} \text{ of Tyre } = 5 \text{ June } \left\{ \begin{array}{l} 280 \\ 285 \end{array} \right\} \text{ A.D.}^3$$

It remains now to raise the most interesting question of all, that of the name of the god to which this altar was dedicated. This name is perhaps concealed in the group of letters following $\alpha\gamma\upsilon\eta'$, an epithet which, as I have had frequent occasion to show, is usual where Semitic divinities are referred to,⁴ or, at least, it is necessary to find in this group a second epithet complementary to the divine name, such as $\mu\epsilon\gamma\acute{\iota}\sigma\tau\omega$, or the like. In this contingency, however, one would have expected the conjunction $\kappa\alpha\iota$ between the first and

¹ Not the same as the more ancient Tyrian era (275 B.C.), which it replaced. I have recently brought forward some weighty arguments tending to establish the fact that, in certain cases at least, the era must be calculated from 125, and not from 126, B.C. (*Rec. d'Arch. Or.*, tome V, § 45).

² *B.J.*, ii, 18, § 1; iv, 2, § 3. Note the variation in the transcription. The second form (Κυδυσσά), in accordance with general usage, is treated as a neuter plural. Cf. *Onom.*, Κεδεσσα , and *Cydissus*, 20 miles from Tyre.

³ For the reasons indicated above, I have worked upon the base ∓ 125 , and not ∓ 126 , which is wrongly given in the handbooks.

⁴ We shall find a new and remarkable example of this in No. 24, below.

second epithets. But there are no traces of these letters in the group, which appears to read **MCO Y ΘIN**.¹ The difficulty is singularly increased by the fact that the division and space between the letters are generally irregular in this inscription, and it is impossible to decide whether the spaces which precede or separate the characters in the group are genuine or whether they may not have contained other characters which have accidentally disappeared. Moreover, it is possible that one, two, or even three of the last letters ought to be removed from this group, on the theory that they contain the premen of Septimius Zenon, who dedicates the inscription, not to speak of the various possible restorations which might be made of them. It is here, especially, that a lively regret for the loss of the squeeze is felt. In the absence of such help any attempt at a reading would be too rash. No doubt several conjectures might be hazarded, but they would be too questionable for me to risk proposing them. All that I can say is that I am inclined to believe that in this group of letters is to be found not so much a second epithet of the god, as either his specific name, or at least his local surname.

24. *Mount Hermon and its God in an inedited Greek Inscription.*—

I. In 1884, whilst studying the collection of antiquities of the Palestine Exploration Fund then deposited in the South Kensington Museum, a descriptive catalogue of which I was making for my own use, I noticed a large, rectangular slab of limestone, coarsely cut, broken in half, and bearing a Greek inscription of eight lines in cursive and irregular characters, somewhat difficult to decipher. I took a copy and a photograph,² which have since remained hidden away in my boxes. I had always promised myself to return to it, but had been prevented hitherto by certain doubts of the reading, and, above all, by my entire ignorance of the exact provenience of the stone.

The label bore only the words, "From the Lebanon"—a vague enough description, since the Lebanon comprises a not insignificant part of Syria. In spite of investigations which were made at the time, at my request, in the archives of the Palestine Exploration Fund, it could not be ascertained where the stone had been found,

¹ I do not know whether account should be taken of the small isolated "c" which is to be seen on the extreme right, between lines 1 and 2.

² From the same photograph has been prepared the block.

by whom it had been transported from Syria to England, nor even when and how it had been added to the collection of the Fund. It is only quite recently, and by pure chance, that I have been able to make out with certainty that the mysterious stone came really from the summit of Hermon, or rather, from the very sanctuary that formerly crowned the sacred mount whose snow-clad head marks the northern boundary of the land of Israel, and at whose foot the Jordan takes its rise. This fact, which gives our inscription an exceptional value and interest, depends upon the following proof:—

I had quite lost sight of this stone until lately, having occasion to search through the old numbers of the *Quarterly Statement* for a totally different object, my eye fell upon a series of copies of inscriptions by Sir Charles Warren, published in *fac-simile* in *Quarterly Statement*, 1870, pp. 324–327. I noticed, on p. 328, a copy of a Greek inscription of eight lines, a mere outline, and indecipherable in itself—on which account it has hitherto escaped attention—a comparison of which with my photograph at once proved that this copy was no other than that of our inscription. Now, the cut was accompanied by the brief but explicit legend, “Stone on summit of Hermon. Scale $\frac{1}{12}$.” Turning to Sir Charles Warren’s account, published previously (pp. 210–215)¹ under the heading “Summit of Hermon,” I found our inscription duly mentioned. In fact, after describing very minutely the remarkable sanctuary,² whose ruins are still to be seen upon the summit of Hermon, and the great oval *enceinte* that surrounds the cone, Sir Charles Warren remarks (*l.c.*, p. 213):—

“To the north-west of the oval we found a stone, 4' × 18" × 12", with a Greek inscription on the face, very roughly cut; a squeeze³ was taken of this, and a *fac-simile* from it has been attempted; it is enclosed. This inscription does not appear to have been noticed by travellers before.”

Doubtless the inscription in question is that which is reproduced later on, p. 328; consequently it is the same as the one the original of which is possessed by the Fund, and has awaited

¹ Reproduced later with the same engraving in *Our Work in Palestine*, pp. 245–250 (1873).

² *Ḳasr esh-Shebīb*, often called, but wrongly, by the name *Ḳasr 'Antar*, which belongs properly to another site (*cf. Quarterly Statement*, 1874, p. 52).

³ [There appears to be no trace of the squeeze in the offices of the Fund.—ED.]

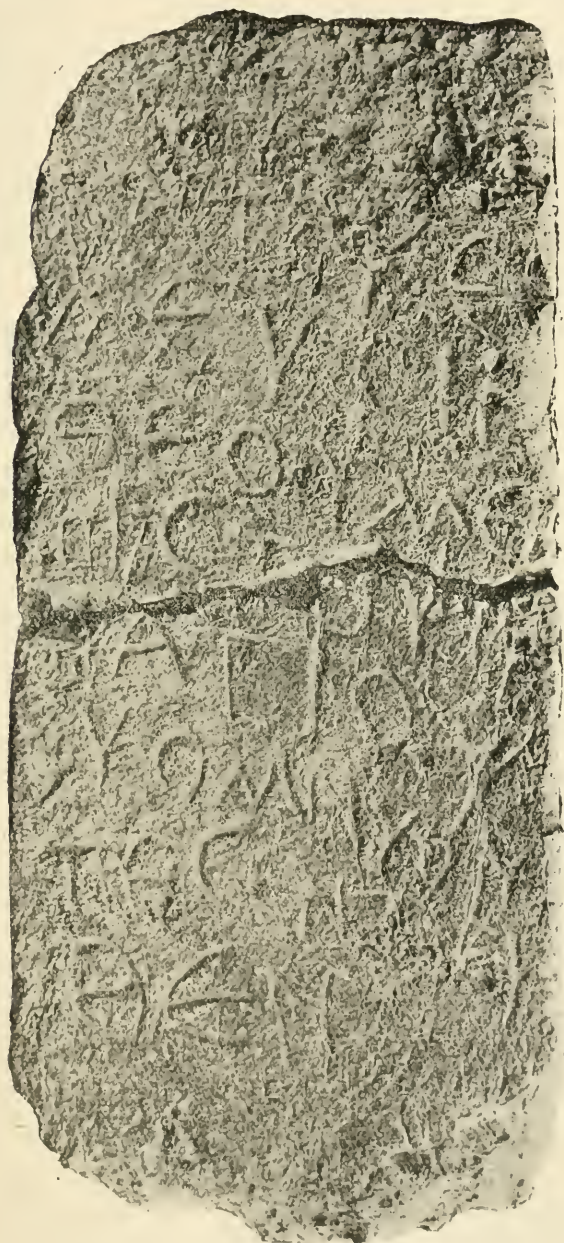


FIG. 4.—Greek Inscription from Mount Hermon.

an interpreter for over two and thirty years. Apart from the general resemblance of the text, the identity of the inscription is ensured by the agreement of the measurements. The slab at the Fund measures 42 inches in length, 19–20 in breadth, and nearly $4\frac{1}{2}$ in thickness.

The length and breadth agree essentially with Sir Charles Warren's measurements, but the actual thickness is much less, $4\frac{1}{2}$ inches instead of 12 inches. This may be attributed to the fact that it was necessary to reduce the thickness in order to reduce the weight of the stone, and to facilitate transport.

We are now able to trace the stone from the summit of Mount Hermon to the last stage that has brought it to the banks of the Thames. In a later report¹ Sir Charles Warren states that he obtained the necessary authority from Rashîd Pasha, Governor-General of Damascus, to remove the stone discovered by him. It was no easy task to convey a block weighing 18 cwt. from a height of 2,800 metres along trackless slopes. It was placed upon a sledge, and all went well up to a certain point. An insurmountable crest prevented further progress. It was necessary to slice the stone in order to lighten it as much as possible, and in the course of this operation the stone was broken in half.²

The two fragments, carefully covered over with stones, were abandoned, and it was not till later that it was possible to carry them to Beirût on the back of mules. Thence they were brought to London, and, through some oversight, information respecting their origin having been overlooked, the stone remained a secret for many years. Its history, if I do not err, is now at length reconstructed with certainty.

II. We may now take it for a fact that the inscription which I propose to explain really came from the ancient sanctuary which stands on the summit of Hermon. This fact, it will presently be seen, is of essential importance for the correct interpretation of the text, which accordingly appears in a new light. I read the inscription thus:—

κατὰ κέλευσιν Θεοῦ μεγίστου καὶ ἁγίου, ὁ(?) ὁμνῶντες, ἐντεῶθεν.

By the order of the god most great and holy, those who take the oath—hence!

¹ *Our Summer in the Lebanon, Quarterly Statement*, pp. 239, 241 seq.

² This ensures the identity of the *two* fragments in the collection of the Fund, and, at the same time, explains the difference in thickness.

The inscription, brief and elliptical though it is, is to be regarded as complete. The eight lines run on uninterruptedly; there is no lacuna, and, besides, nothing is wanted at the head or at the foot. The extent of the space following the last three letters (l. 8) is sufficient proof that the text comes to an end there. The only difficulty is the Υ with which the sixth line appears to commence. This letter is a little behind the vertical of the remaining lines, and one is consequently led to ask whether it was not preceded by a letter now destroyed. For a moment it seems possible to make out here the broken traces of such a letter. But whatever that might be $[o]\dot{\upsilon}$, $[o]\hat{\upsilon}$, or even $[\epsilon]\hat{\upsilon}$,¹ one arrives at no one word that suits the context. What one expects, and what should precede the present participle $\dot{\upsilon}\mu\acute{\nu}\eta\sigma\tau\epsilon\varsigma$, is the article $\alpha\iota$; and I incline, on these grounds, to the belief that the $\dot{\upsilon}$ actually represents the article $\alpha\iota$, a vulgar orthography,² examples of which are supplied in the Greek epigraphy of Syria. As for the relative position of this letter, it may have been caused by the presence of some fault in the stone which caused the engraver to carve the letter a little to the right of the commencement of line 6. At my request Colonel Watson and Mr. S. A. Cook have been good enough to examine the stone closely, the result of which has been negative as regards the possible existence of a letter before the Υ . The latter writes: "We can find only weather marks; there is no sign of a letter, and I doubt whether there is actually room for it."

III. Who can this unnamed god be who is thus designated "very great" and "holy"? Without hesitation, one is in a position to reply, I think, that it is the god of Hermon himself, whose sanctuary raises itself upon the highest point (El-Mutabkhiyât) of the sacred mountain with which, according to ancient Semitic belief, the personality of the god would be identified. If we lift the veil from the Hellenic terms, the second of which ($\tilde{\alpha}\gamma\iota\omicron\varsigma$), as I have shown elsewhere,³ is used of deities of Semitic origin, we see standing before us the grand figure of Baal Hermon, who is mentioned in the Bible on two occasions,⁴ the mythological brother of Mount Lebanon and of Mount Carmel, which, too,

¹ It would be extremely rash to conjecture the existence of a compound $\epsilon\dot{\upsilon}\delta\mu\upsilon\mu\iota$, formed on the same principle as $\epsilon\dot{\upsilon}\delta\omicron\kappa\tilde{\omega}$.

² $\alpha\iota$ and $\dot{\upsilon}$ are each pronounced i in consequence of the iotacism.

³ *Études d'Arch. Orient.*, I, p. 100 *et seq.*; cf. *Rec. d'Arch. Orient.*, III, p. 330.

⁴ Judges iii, 3; 1 Chron. v, 23.

were veritable gods.¹ The veneration of Hermon persisted down to a very late date—even in the time of Eusebius² it had not lost its hold upon the inhabitants of the district—and it is possible that one of the modern names of the mountain, Jebel esh-Sheikh, has preserved a last trace of the ancient Canaanite or Amorite Baal incarnated therein.

(*To be continued.*)

GOLGOTHA AND THE HOLY SEPULCHRE.

By Major-General Sir C. W. WILSON, K.C.B., F.R.S., R.E., &c.

(*Continued from p. 65.*)

The Identification of the Traditional Sites, with Golgotha and the Tomb in the Reign of Constantine.

THE only contemporary account of the discovery of Golgotha and the Tomb, and of the erection of churches in their honour, is that given by Eusebius in his *Life of Constantine* (iii, 25–40). The “Life” has, somewhat unjustly, been called a travesty of history. Its literary style, so different from the simple prose of the *Ecclesiastical History*, its exaggerated praise of the Emperor, and its frequent attribution of Divine inspiration to his actions, create a not unnatural prejudice in the mind of the reader. But its author was no deliberate falsifier. His object seems to have been to write a panegyric rather than a sober history. After years of suffering he had seen his religion triumphant, and he wrote with poetic

¹ For Lebanon, *cf.* Baal Lebanon on the ancient Phœnician inscription (C.I.S., I, No. 5), the existence of which I was the first to recognise. For Carmel, *cf.* the famous passage in Tacitus (II, 78): “Ita vocant montem deumque.” *Cf.* also the passage in Sanehoniathon (ed. Orelli, p. 16), where the Anti-libanus figures among the mountain gods of the race of giants, by the side of Casius, Lebanon, and the mysterious Brathu. Perhaps our Baal-Hermon himself is to be recognised in the Ζεὺς μέγιστος of a dedication copied by M. Fossey (*Bulletin de Correspondance Hellénique*, t. XXI, p. 63, No. 72) at Kal’at Jendel on the eastern declivity of Hermon. Zeus is the usual equivalent of Baal. On line 3 I propose to restore Μάγνου for the corrupt patronymic YAYNOY. The restoration of Ἰαμοῦ, which M. Fossey suggests, is quite inadmissible.

² *Onomast.*, s.v., Ἀερμών . . . ὡς ἱερὸν τιμᾶσθαι ὑπὸ τῶν ἐθνῶν. Jerome: “In vertice ejus insigne templum quod ab ethnicis cultui habetur e regione Paneudis et Libani.”

enthusiasm of the sovereign who had wrought such a marvellous change. Can anyone regard his exuberant language as a crime? Is he the only court prelate who has written fulsome praise of a monarch whose conduct was not above reproach? Constantine was not a perfect Christian, but neither was he a Caligula, a Nero, or a Commodus, and he was infinitely superior to many of his successors who reigned centuries after Christianity had become the religion of the State.

Eusebius, from his relations with the Imperial Court, and as Metropolitan of the Jerusalem See, was in a position to obtain accurate information, and, making allowance for his extravagant language, what he says with regard to the orders of the Emperor, and to the steps taken to carry them out, is deserving of the closest attention. His meaning is sometimes obscure, but his honesty and sincerity are apparent, whilst the skill with which he avoids all direct reference to the Cross and its discovery, and the general freedom of his writings from the fables and prodigies that disfigure later church histories are remarkable. The statements which he makes with regard to the "holy places," and to the churches erected in their honour, are not always clear, but some of the difficulties disappear when it is remembered that the *Life of Constantine* was written after the Cross had been found,¹ and that the Emperor built two distinct churches—the Anastasis and the Martyrion, or Basilica. There is no account of the finding of the Cross by an eye-witness, but its discovery when, or soon after, Golgotha and the Tomb were laid bare by excavation is attested by the letter of Cyril of Jerusalem, written in May, 351, to the Emperor Constantius,² and by the allusions which Eusebius apparently makes to the Cross.³ The two churches are referred to by Eusebius,

¹ The *Theophania* and the *De Laude Constantini* were also written after the discovery.

² "In the reign of your father Constantine, the beloved of Heaven, of happy memory, the salutary wood of the Cross was discovered at Jerusalem, the Divine One having permitted him, who duly sought after righteousness, to discover the Holy Places, which had heretofore been hidden away" (*Ad Const.* § 3; Migne, *Pat. Gr.* xxxiii, cols. 1168, 1169).

³ The expressions "the token of the most holy Passion," the "assurance of the Saviour's Passion" (*I.C.* iii, 30); the "trophy of the Saviour's victory over death" (*I.C.* iii, 33, *De Laud. Const.* ix, xi; cf. Cyril, *Ad Const.* iii; *Cat.* xiii, 40); and the "Church sacred to the salutary sign" (*De Laud. Const.* ix) are opposed to the view that the finding of the Cross is a "legend which grew up after the church was built" (Guthe, *Grab, das heilige*, in Hauck's "Realencyclopädie," third edition). See Appendix 1.

and are distinctly mentioned by St. Silvia and others.¹ They stood not far from each other on a paved platform: one, the Anastasis, or Church of the Resurrection, contained within its walls the reputed Tomb of Christ; the other the Basilica, or Church of the Cross, stood above the spot where the crosses were found. In the open air, between the two churches, but a little to the south of their common axis, the rock upon which it was believed that the Cross had stood, rose some 15 feet above the level of the platform.

It must also be remembered that the history of the "holy places," as told by Eusebius, although it is happily free from the fabulous legends which disfigured the accounts of later years, is incomplete. There is no indication of the motive, other than Divine inspiration, which led Constantine to institute a search for Golgotha and the Tomb; the discovery of the Cross is not mentioned; the letter of Constantine to Macarius is apparently a reply to a communication which has not been preserved; and one expression in it, "the present wonder," seems to imply a previous "wonder," the nature of which is left to the imagination. Whether information on these points was given by Eusebius in his "Oration on the Sepulchre of the Saviour," or in his treatise on "The Structure of the Church of our Saviour, and the Form of His Sacred Cave,"² is unknown, for the two works are unfortunately lost. If it was given he may have considered the repetition of the details unnecessary in his *Life of Constantine*. On the other hand, the omission of all reference to the discovery of the Cross may have been intentional.³ The author could make no adverse comments on an incident in which the

¹ Eusebius, *De Laud. Const.* ix, *Com. in Ps.* 87, Appendix 2, 3. In her *Pilgrimage to the Holy Places* (Pal. Pilgrims' Text Society series), St. Silvia calls the basilica "the great church built by Constantine which is in Golgotha behind the Cross," and "the holy church which is in Golgotha, which they call the Martyrium" (see also Eucherius, *De Loc. Sanct.*; *Brev. de Hierosol.*; Theodosius, *De Sit. T.S.*). St. Silvia also alludes (*l.c.* pp. 61-64) to open-air services that were held before and behind the Cross which stood on the "rock of Golgotha" (*Quarterly Statement*, 1902, p. 148). The rock-hewn bases of the columns of the Anastasis, which were visible before the fire of 1808 (Mariti, *Istoria del stato pres. del città di Gerusalemme*), indicate the extent to which the rock was cut away to obtain a level platform, and isolate the tomb and the rock of Golgotha.

² Referred to in *V.C.* iv, 33, 46.

³ It may be remarked that Jerome, although he mentions the Cross, makes no allusion to its discovery.

Emperor and his mother were so deeply interested, and he may have decided to remain silent. Or he may have desired to say nothing that would divert attention from the fact that the Resurrection, to which the empty Tomb bore witness, and not the material Cross, was the basis of Christian belief.

Eusebius relates¹ that, after the Council of Nicæa, Constantine, being inspired thereto by the Saviour, decided to make the place of the Resurrection "conspicuous and an object of veneration to all," and that he forthwith gave orders for the erection of a house of prayer. The Emperor, "inspired by the Divine spirit," directed that the spot should be purified, for impious men, hoping to conceal the truth, had covered up "the sacred cave," and built above it a shrine dedicated to Aphrodite. When the shrine and its substructures were cleared away, and the natural surface of the ground was exposed, "immediately, and contrary to all expectation, the venerable and hallowed monument of our Saviour's Resurrection became visible." The Emperor then ordered a house of prayer to be erected round "the sacred cave," on a scale of Imperial magnificence.

After describing the discovery of the Tomb, Eusebius gives a letter from Constantine to Macarius, which was apparently written with full knowledge that the Cross had been found. The Emperor writes that "No power of language seems adequate to describe the present wonder. For that the token of that most holy Passion,² long ago buried underground, should have remained unknown for so many years . . . truly transcends all marvel . . . I desire then that you should especially be convinced . . . that of all things it is most my care how we may adorn with splendour of buildings that sacred spot which, under Divine direction, I relieved, as it were, of the heavy weight of foul idol worship—a place holy indeed from the beginning, but which has been made to appear still more holy since it brought to light the assurance of the Saviour's Passion."³ Instructions are then given for the construction of a

¹ *Life of Constantine*, iii, 25–40; English translation in *Churches of Constantine at Jerusalem* (Pal. Pilgrims Text Society series).

² The token of the Passion is the Cross, not the Tomb, and the "present wonder" may be its discovery after it had lain buried for nearly 300 years,—the implied previous "wonder" being the finding of the Tomb in perfect preservation.

³ The meaning seems to be that, in his opinion, the Tomb, holy as it was in itself, had been made still more holy by the discovery in its immediate vicinity of the Cross—the token, or assurance, of the Saviour's Passion.

basilica, "For it is just that the place which is more wonderful than the whole world should be worthily decorated."¹

After stating that the instructions of Constantine were carried out, Eusebius writes: "So on the monument of salvation itself was the New Jerusalem built, over against the one so famous of old Opposite this the Emperor reared, with rich and lavish expenditure, the trophy of the Saviour's victory over death² and first of all he adorned the sacred cave, which was, as it were, the chief part of the whole work." Eastward of the cave "the basilica was erected, an extraordinary work" of great height and extent. In the last chapter (40) the two churches, with their adjuncts, are, apparently, called a "temple," raised as a "conspicuous monument of the Saviour's Resurrection."

Eusebius, it will be observed, writes as if it were well known to everyone that the Tomb lay beneath the temple of Aphrodite. He expresses no doubt as to its authenticity, and makes no allusion to an enquiry by Macarius, or by any government official, with regard to the scene of the Crucifixion and Resurrection. Constantine, according to him, is inspired by Christ to make the Tomb a "holy place," and at once issues orders for the removal of the temple and its substructures. The historian certainly says that, when the clearance was made, the Tomb was exposed to view "contrary to all expectation"; but this may only mean that there was a tradition that the "sacred cave" had been destroyed, or injured, when the temple was built, and that those who superintended the excavation were astonished to find it perfectly preserved.

Is this an accurate account of what occurred, or is it a compromise between the necessary avoidance of anything likely to

¹ It seems clear from the previous order to build a church round the Tomb, and from the similarity of the decorative details of this church to those of the basilica that was actually built (*cf. I.C. iii, 31, 32, 36*), that the Emperor intended to build, in addition to the church round the Tomb, a large church above the spot where the Cross was found, a place "more wonderful than the whole world." If, however, the letter refers to one church only, the explanation may be that the Emperor originally intended to include all the "holy places" in one great church, and that he afterwards approved of a plan for erecting two churches submitted to him by his architect after a study of the ground.

² This expression is apparently applied by Eusebius (*De Laud. Const. ix, xi*) and Cyril (*Ad Const. iii*) to the Cross (*see Appendix 1*). "New Jerusalem" may be compared with "New Rome," the name of the new capital on the Bosphorus, afterwards known as Constantinople.

give offence to the Imperial family, and a strong desire on the part of the historian to dissociate himself from the steps that were taken to find and identify the Cross? There is some reason for thinking that the latter may have been the case.

Constantine was a man of imperious temper, who brooked no resistance to his will. He was successful in all his undertakings, and believed that his success was due to intercourse with the Deity,¹ through the medium of dreams and visions, which were to him what "the voices" were to the Maid of Orleans. His belief in a Divine vocation seems to have been very real, and it was encouraged rather than discouraged by his Christian advisers. He had seen the sign of the Cross in the sky,² had placed it upon the standards of his army and upon the shields of his soldiers, and through it had gotten a great victory and the empire of the world. His training, his methods of thought were those of the West, and until he came to the East he was under the guidance of Western bishops, and was acquainted with Western Christianity alone.³ He had all the materialistic tendency of the Latin, and more especially of the Roman mind; and this tendency would, almost naturally, lead him to order a search to be made for the Cross.⁴ The view, suggested by Eusebius, that the prime motive of the Divine inspiration was the discovery and decoration of the Tomb, must be accepted with reserve. It was the Cross and not the Tomb which influenced the decision of the Emperor at critical moments, and in the salutary power of which he firmly believed.⁵ Can it be supposed that in consequence of a Divine inspiration, immediately after the Council

¹ The inscription on the triumphal arch, erected by Constantine to commemorate his victory of the Milvian bridge, dedicated 315 A.D., has the words *Instinctu Divinitatis*. Writers allude to him as being *divino monitus instinctu*; and he himself, in his letter to Macarius, writes that his action was due to "Divine direction" (see p. 143).

² The importance attached to this vision is indicated by the legend *τοῦτοφνίκα*, so frequently found on ancient crosses.

³ It was only after he became sole Emperor, 323 A.D., that he was brought into close contact with the Christianity of the East.

⁴ The search may have been partly due to political motives. The Emperor may have thought that as the sign of the Cross had given him victory in the field, so the Cross itself, if found, would be a rallying point for Christians, and heal the dissensions in the Church.

⁵ On a statue of himself, holding a spear which terminated in a cross, erected by the Emperor at Rome, an inscription proclaimed to all that by the salutary sign he had saved the city, and restored the senate and the Roman people to their ancient dignity and splendour (*H.E.* ix, 9; *V.C.* i, 40).

of Nicæa, the Tomb took the first place in his thoughts and the Cross the second?¹

The view that Constantine wished to find the Cross is indirectly supported by the rapid development of the cult of the Cross. Less than 25 years after the Emperor's death Cyril could write that the wood of the Cross had been "distributed piecemeal to all the world" (*Cat.* xiii, 4); Julian was able to taunt the Christians with reverencing the Cross as a divinity; and the heathen had come to regard it as a Christian idol no less materialistic than their own.

The later Greek traditions are far more concerned with the discovery of the three crosses, and the identification of the true Cross than they are with the recovery of the Tomb, and in these traditions the principal figure is not the Emperor but his mother, the Empress Helena. Thus in the fourth and fifth centuries Socrates (*H.E.* i, 17) attributes the recovery of the Tomb and the Cross to Helena, assisted by Macarius. Sozomen says (*H.E.* ii, 1) that her zeal for Christianity made her anxious when at Jerusalem to find the wood of the Cross; and Theodoretus states (*H.E.* i, 17) that she was the bearer of Constantine's letter to Macarius, and that she discovered the Cross. In the sixth century Alexander Monachus writes (*De Invent. Crucis*²) that Constantine ordered Macarius to find the Cross, the Tomb, and sacred relics, and that he sent his mother, at her own request, to Jerusalem that she and the bishop might search together for the Cross.

The Latin tradition of the fourth and fifth centuries is, that Helena on her arrival at Jerusalem made inquiry with regard to the place of the Crucifixion, and that when its situation was pointed out to her she had the superincumbent buildings and earth removed and found the three crosses. The Cross of Christ was then identified with the aid of Macarius³ (Rufinus, *H.E.* x, 7; Sulp. Severus, *H.S.* ii, 34).

¹ For the Cross and Constantine, see Clos, *Kreuz und Grab Jesu*; Wace and Schaff, *Nicene and Post-Nicene Fathers*, vol. i; *Dicty. of Christian Biography*, art. "Constantinus."

² Migne, *Pat. Gr.* lxxxvii, para. 3, col. 4062.

³ The account of the identification of the true Cross given by Severus is possibly that authorised by Macarius. It states that the body of a dead man, on its way to the grave, was carried to the spot where the crosses were found, and that when removed from the bier and placed in contact with the Cross of Christ, it stood upright. The story that the three crosses were carried to the room of a sick lady seems to be an exaggeration of the official account.

Assuming that the object of Constantine was to find the Cross, and that the Bishop of Jerusalem was instructed to search for it, the first step would obviously be to recover Golgotha and the Tomb. In no other locality could there have been any chance of success.¹ Was the situation of the two places known to Macarius? A consideration of the history of Jerusalem and of the early Church has suggested (p. 63) that the survival of any tradition with regard to them to the time of Constantine is improbable, but not impossible. Eusebius does not mention a tradition, but he says nothing that is inconsistent with a previous knowledge of the place, and his narrative, taken by itself, may perhaps be held to support the view that the position of the Tomb was known. On the other hand, the impression produced by the works of later writers is that, although there may have been some recollection of Golgotha amongst the inhabitants of Jerusalem, there was no certain knowledge of its exact situation. It is true that these later writers were not eye-witnesses, and that they only related what had become known to them through tradition, but they had access to the archives of the Church, and their statements, especially those which are common to all, must have had some foundation in fact.

Amongst Greek writers, Socrates says (*H.E.* i, 17²) that Helena recovered the Tomb "after much difficulty." Sozomen states that "it was no easy matter" to discover the Cross and the Tomb, and that according to some their situation was pointed out to the Empress by an Oriental Jew, who derived his knowledge from family documents, but that the more probable view was that God revealed it "by means of signs and dreams." Alexander Monachus writes (*De Invent. S. Crucis*) that Helena, upon her arrival at Jerusalem, charged Macarius and his suffragans to search for the Cross, and that being at a loss what to do, they offered prayers to God, and were answered by a miraculous revelation of the place to the bishop. In the letter of the Emperor Leo to Omar,³ the site is said to have been disclosed by Jews under torture. According to Rufinus (*H.E.* x, 7) the place of the Crucifixion was pointed out

¹ The custom of the Jews was to bury the cross upon which anyone was hanged with the body (Lightfoot, *Hor. Heb. et Tal.*, in Acts viii, 1).

² These extracts will be published in full when the papers appear in a separate volume.

³ Migne, *Pat. Gr.* cvii.

to Helena "by signs from heaven"; and according to Severus (*H.S.* ii, 34) the Empress, having first obtained the requisite information, had the spot cleared. Gregory of Tours says (*Hist. Franc.* i, 34) that the Cross was pointed out to Helena by a Jew named Juda.

It will be convenient at this point to sum up the evidence for and against the existence of a definite tradition. In support of the view that the "holy places" were well known to the Christian community at Jerusalem, it may be urged that during the three centuries which followed their recovery the authenticity of the sites was never questioned by Jews or heathen, and that the Christians would not have acquiesced in identifications which they knew to be false. Even Julian, and those who taunted the Christians with worshipping the Cross as an idol, so far as is known, accepted their recovery as genuine; and no accusation was brought against Macarius of perpetrating a "pious fraud"¹ during the period when a deliberate fraud, if there were one, would hardly have escaped detection. Eusebius writes as if the position of the Tomb were well known, or, at any rate, as if there were no difficulty in finding it. The Greek and Latin writers of the fourth, fifth, and sixth centuries mention no miracle in connection with its recovery, such as that which attended the identification of the true Cross. If the site of the Tomb had been lost, or if there had been any doubt on the subject, Constantine, it has been argued, would have ordered a preliminary inquiry and search, but of this there is no trace in the writings of Eusebius, the only eye-witness. The selection of an inconvenient site on the slope of a rocky hill, where extensive quarrying would be necessary for the erection of a large church, must have been due to the existence of a tradition.² If Macarius and his suffragans had acted upon mere caprice, if they had believed that Golgotha was a rounded hill-top, or if the Emperor

¹ Taylor (*Ancient Christianity* ii, 277) imputes deliberate fraud to Macarius, but it is impossible to believe that the bishop could have had a cave hewn out of the rock beneath a pagan shrine, and that the heathen would have assented to the fraud.

² Finlay's argument (*Hist. of Greece* i, Ap. iii) that the minute registration of landed property in the Roman Empire and the provinces, and the maps connected with it, would have enabled Macarius to identify the garden of Joseph, must not be pressed too far. The condition of Jerusalem before the siege by Titus was not such as to facilitate the execution of a cadastral survey by the Romans, and all the city archives were destroyed during the war. A later survey would be of little value for purposes of identification.

had instructed them simply to erect churches in remembrance of the Passion and the Resurrection, they would have chosen a conspicuous spot, such as a knoll with a conveniently situated Jewish sepulchre, and not a tomb in an ancient cemetery within the walls of Hadrian's city. In all probability, also, they would have preserved the tomb intact, and made an effort to preserve the appearance of reality instead of cutting away the rock so as to have that portion of the tomb only upon which the body of the Lord had rested.

The supporters of the opposite view maintain that there is no positive proof of a definite tradition, and that the story of the recovery of the "holy places" has not sufficient guarantees to justify its acceptance. For three centuries after the time of Constantine no writers refer to a tradition, or advance any argument in favour of the sites, and most of them consider it necessary to ascribe their recovery to an inspiration or to Divine guidance. Nor, excepting the allusion by Eusebius, in his *Theophania*,¹ to "one cavern," is mention made of any mark or sign by which the tomb that was uncovered was known to be that of Christ. The silence of Eusebius with regard to a tradition is no more a proof that there was one than his omission to mention the discovery of the Cross, and the part played by Helena in the transactions at Jerusalem is evidence that the Cross was not found when the "holy places" were recovered, and that the Empress was not present during the operations which led to their recovery. It may plausibly be suggested that the historian disapproved of the proceedings, and that his silence with regard to many details is due to his honesty, and to a feeling that, in view of the official recognition of Christianity as the religion of the State, he was obliged to accept the broad outlines of the situation created by the Imperial order to find the Cross. The writers later than Constantine convey the impression that nothing was certainly known with regard to the position of Golgotha, and that an inquiry of some kind preceded its recovery. The fact that Macarius sought for and found a cave beneath the temple of Aphrodite is no proof that the cave² was the Sepulchre of Christ, or that there was a tradition with regard to it. The existence of a Jewish cemetery at the spot must have been a matter of common knowledge, and it would have been a very natural inference from

¹ Appendix 4.

² It is remarkable that Eusebius generally uses the word *ἄντρον*, *cave*, for the sepulchre, and not the usual *τάφος* (see App. 1).

the well-known characteristics of such cemeteries (*Quarterly Statement*, 1902, 284, 292) that there was a tomb beneath the temple.¹ Macarius very possibly formed a theory with regard to the site of Golgotha after more careful consideration than has been given to the subject by some modern theorists, and it is most unlikely that anyone in the fourth century would question an identification accepted by a bishop and his suffragans. There is every reason to believe that Macarius acted in good faith, and an attempt will be made later to discover the reasons which led him to fix upon the traditional sites; but the fact that the scene of the Transfiguration,² and the sites of the battle in which David slew Goliath,³ and of Rephidim,⁴ were wrongly identified in the early part of the fourth century, suggests the possibility that the bishop may have been mistaken.⁵ It may be added that the cutting away of the rock round the traditional tomb, if it did not arise from the architect's wish to produce a certain effect, may have been due to a desire to obliterate all traces of the original features of the ground.

The only possible conclusion, from a discussion of the literary evidence, seems to be that there is no decisive reason for placing Golgotha and the Tomb at the places which were accepted as genuine in the fourth century, and that there is no distinct proof that they were not so situated. Fortunately the question is purely archaeological, and its solution, one way or the other, does not affect any Christian dogma or article of faith. My own view is that the tradition is so precarious, and the evidence of its credibility is so unsatisfactory, as to raise grave doubts respecting its accuracy.

(*To be continued.*)

¹ The statement of Eusebius that impious men "set themselves to consign [the Tomb] to darkness and oblivion" (*V.C.* iii, 26; *Quarterly Statement*, p. 64, App. 4) hardly means, as Robinson contends (*B.R.* i, 414) that the site was forgotten.

² *Itin. Hierosol.*

³ *Ibid.*

⁴ *St. Silvia, l.c.*

⁵ Robinson lays much stress (*B.R.* i, 415, 416) upon the identification by Eusebius of the summit of the Mount Olives as the scene of the Ascension which he places at Bethany. But Eusebius connects the Ascension with the spot where Christ taught his disciples (*Quarterly Statement*, p. 64, App. 5), and the words "he led them out until they were over against Bethany" (Luke xxiv, 50), compared with Acts i, 12, "then returned they . . . from the mount called Olivet," are not opposed to the view that Christ ascended from some spot on the Mount of Olives.

APPENDIX.

(1) The question whether Eusebius alludes to the Cross in his writings cannot certainly be answered. It has been argued that his words are quite as applicable to the Holy Sepulchre as, or even more so than, to the Cross. If, however, the statement of Cyril that the Cross was found in the reign of Constantine be correct, the absence of any allusion to it by Eusebius is almost inexplicable. Eusebius certainly mentions a church at Jerusalem "sacred to the salutary sign," *i.e.*, the Cross; and it may not unreasonably be inferred that when Cyril calls the Cross "the trophy of the victory over death," and "the salutary trophy of Jesus," he uses expressions which had the same meaning and application in the time of Eusebius. An attempt is made below to make a distinction between the expressions which refer to the Cross and those which are applied to the Tomb.

References to the Cross by EUSEBIUS and CYRIL :—

H.E. ix, 9.—τοῦ σωτηρίου τρόπαιον πάθους, a *trophy* of the Saviour's Passion.

V.C. i, 40.—μέγα τρόπαιον τουτί, this great *trophy*.

De Laud. Const. ix.—τοῦ μεγάλου Σωτῆρος τὰ κατὰ τοῦ θανάτου τρόπαια, the *trophies* of the Saviour's victory over the power of death.

De Laud. Const. xi.—τρόπαια τε τῆς κατὰ τοῦ θανάτου νίκης, the *trophies* of the victory over death.

Cyril, *Ad Const.* iii.—τὸ τῆς κατὰ τοῦ θανάτου νίκης τρόπαιον, the *trophy* of the victory over death.

Cyril, *Cat.* xiii, 40.—τὸ τρόπαιον Ἰησοῦ τὸ σωτήριον, ὁ σταυρός, the salutary *trophy* of Jesus—the Cross.

V.C. iii, 30.—τὸ γνώρισμα τοῦ ἁγιωτάτου ἐκείνου πάθους, the *token* of that most holy Passion.

V.C. iii, 33.—τὴν κατὰ τοῦ θανάτου σωτήριον νίκην, the trophy of the Saviour's *victory* over death.

V.C. iii, 30.—τὴν τοῦ σωτηρίου πάθους πίστιν, the *assurance* of the Lord's Passion.

H.E. ix, 9.—τὸ σωτήριον τοῦ σταυροῦ σημεῖον, the *salutary sign* of the Cross.

H.E. ix, 9.—τὸ σωτήριον σημεῖον, the *salutary sign* (also in *V.C.* i, 40).

De Laud. Const. ix.—νεὼν τε ἅγιον τῷ σωτηρίῳ σημεῖον, a church sacred to the *salutary sign*.

References to the Tomb :—

V.C. iii, 26.—τῆς ἀθανασίας μνῆμα, a *monument* of immortality.

V.C. iii, 33.—μνῆμα ἐκείνο θεσπέσιον, that divine *monument*, *cf.* that everlasting *monument* in *De Laud. Const.* ix.

V.C. iv, 33.—ἂμφι τοῦ σωτηρίου μνήματος λόγος, oration on the *monument* of the Saviour.

I.C. iii, 26.—τὸ σωτήριον ἄντρον, the salutary *cave*; also in iii, 29, iv, 46 — τὸ θεῖον ἄντρον, the divine *cave*.

I.C. iii, 28.—τό τε ἅγιον τῶν ἁγίων ἄντρον, the most holy *cave*.

I.C. iii, 33.—τὸ ἱερὸν ἄντρον, the sacred *cave*.

I.C. iii, 36.—τὸ ἄντρον, the *cave*, also in *De Laud. Const.*, ix.

I.C. iii, 28.—τὸ τῆς σωτηρίου ἀναστάσεως μαρτύριον, the *testimony* (or monument) of the Saviour's resurrection; τὴν τοῦ Σωτῆρος ἀνάστασιν μαρτυρούμενον, a *testimony* to the resurrection of the Saviour.

I.C. iii, 33.—τὸ σωτήριον μαρτύριον, the salutary *testimony*, also in *De Laud. Const.* ix.

I.C. iii, 25.—τὸν τῆς σωτηρίου ἀναστάσεως μακαριστότατον τόπον, the most blessed *place* of the Saviour's resurrection.

I.C. iii, 30.—τὸν ἱερὸν ἐκεῖνον τόπον, that sacred *place* (or spot).

Cyril uses the words τὸ μνῆμα, τὸ μαρτύριον, ὁ τόπος, and ὁ τάφος.

(2) EUSEBIUS (*De Laud. Const.* ix).—Again, in the province of Palestine, in that city which was once the seat of Hebrew sovereignty, on the very site of the Lord's Sepulchre (τὸ σωτήριον μαρτύριον), he (Constantine) has raised a church of noble dimensions, and adorned a temple sacred to the salutary cross (νέων τε ἅγιον τῷ σωτηρίῳ σημεῖον) with rich and lavish magnificence, honouring that everlasting monument (μνῆμα), and the trophies of the Saviour's victory over the power of death, with a splendour which no language can describe. In the same country he discovered three places venerable as the localities of three sacred caves; and these also he adorned with costly structures, paying a fitting tribute of reverence to the scene of the first manifestation of the Saviour's presence, while at the second cavern he hallowed the remembrance of His final ascension from the mountain top, and celebrated His mighty conflict and the victory which crowned it at the third. All these places our Emperor thus adorned in the hope of proclaiming the symbol of redemption to all mankind—that Cross which has indeed repaid his pious zeal. (From Wace and Schaff, *Nicene and Post-Nicene Fathers*, i, 594; Migne, *Pat. Gr.* xx, col. 1369.)

(3) EUSEBIUS (*Com. in Ps.* lxxxvii).—Anyone who considers what wondrous things have been done in our own time at the Sepulchre and the place of the Martyrdom (ἄμφι τὸ μνῆμα καὶ τὸ μαρτύριον) of the Saviour will understand how these prophecies have indeed been fulfilled. (Migne, *Pat. Gr.* xxiii, col. 1064.)

(4) EUSEBIUS (*Theophania*).—The grave itself was a cave which had recently been hewn out; a grave that had now been cut out in a rock, and which had experienced the reception of no other body. For it was necessary that it, which was itself a wonder, should have the care of that corpse only. For it is astonishing to see even this rock standing

out erect and alone in a level land, and having only one cavern within it, lest, had there been many, the miracle of Him who overcame Death should have been obscured. The Corpse was therefore laid there, the Vessel of the living WORD ; and a great stone held (the entrance of) the cave. (Lee's translation, p. 199.)

N.B.—The Theophania is only extant in the Syriac version, and the meaning would be much clearer if the original Greek were in existence. The work was written after the Church of the Holy Sepulchre was built, or whilst it was in building, and the passage apparently alludes to the excavations by which the tomb was isolated, and to its appearance after isolation. Whether the meaning is that there was only one chamber or only one *loculus* or grave is uncertain—the former is most probable.

NOTES FROM JERUSALEM.

By DR. SELAH MERRILL, U.S. Consul.

1. *An Immense Charnel House*.—In the autumn of 1898, during the visit of the German Emperor to Jerusalem, a considerable piece of land adjoining the west side of Neby Daūd, on Mount Zion, passed into the hands of the German Catholics. The entire plot of ground, of which this is a part, forms an imperfect square, bounded by a field on the south, a lane on the west, a narrow street on the north, and Neby Daūd, with the short lane leading to it, on the east. In the north-west corner a rectangular bit became, 70 years ago, the property of the American Board of Foreign Missions ; the south-east corner of the square is pushed in, so that the outline of the German Catholic ground is very irregular. Beyond the lane, on the west, is the Greek cemetery, and beyond the narrow street, on the north, is the cemetery of the Armenians, and the north-east portion of this ground is very near what is known as the House of Caiaphas. These details are mentioned in order to define precisely the location of the ground in question.

In digging graves in the ground of the American Mission, we came, in three or more instances, upon what appeared to be a large flat stone, so that the holes had to be refilled and the graves dug elsewhere. At one time men were employed to dig at this point to ascertain what the obstruction below the surface was. There was uncovered a finely-constructed basement of a pier. It was 6 feet square and 2 feet high. About it, so far as the digging

extended, a plastered floor was found, on which were many human bones. Beyond the fact that some large building once stood there nothing was determined.

All the graves at the south-east corner of this ground, if they were dug sufficiently deep, reached the same plastered floor, and many bones were thrown up by the gravedigger. In every such instance I went alone to the cemetery, picked up with my own hands the bones that had been thrown out, a handful, or two or three handfuls, in two cases a skull also, put them by themselves and carefully covered them with earth, in order that the feelings of the friends of the deceased person about to be buried might not be disturbed by them. When the coffin had been lowered into the grave the bones were laid back and the earth replaced.

The period covered by the events I have mentioned was about 20 years, and nothing further was known about these remains or these bones until the ground adjoining passed into the possession of the German Catholics in 1898, and they began to excavate it the following year.

Broad, deep trenches were first cut from north to south, and later a considerable section, perhaps 300 square yards, was removed. Extensive foundations, columns, squared stones with smooth faces, and other remains, were found. The basement of a pier, corresponding to that already described, and 50 feet east of it, was uncovered, and the plastered floor extended to the east and south for a considerable distance. The most surprising thing that was found was a mass of human bones. They formed a great bed or layer of pretty uniform depth 12 inches thick. The number of skulls was appalling. They were interspersed all through the layer of bones: in one hollow place 50 were counted, and in a cistern there were nearly 100. To the west this layer continued under the wall dividing this ground from that of the American Mission, at its south-east corner, as has been described. The area of this remarkable bone bed will never be known; but from the portions exposed it may be asserted that it extended 30 feet in one direction and 50 feet in another. This is an under-estimate, as the extreme limits were not reached.

It was perfectly evident that the bodies had not been laid in any order—simply thrown or dumped here indiscriminately two or three deep and covered with earth. These bones could easily represent 300 to 500 human beings. Could they have been thrown

here after some plague? This is exceedingly doubtful. Could they have been placed here after some battle? The great confusion in which they lay makes this supposition very improbable. May they not rather be the ghastly relics of some awful massacre?

In case of the burials referred to, the returning to the graves, after the coffins had been lowered, of the bones that had been thrown out would result, after the coffins had decayed, in a strange commingling of bones. This, of course, was unavoidable.

During the past year (1902) the entire place has been excavated and cleared; extensive remains of buildings have been found fallen upon each and scattered about in the greatest confusion. Canals for water, well built and commodious cisterns, capitals, columns, squared stones, carved work, sections of flooring and foundation walls; these were all noted and described by Mr. Sandel, the architect of the German Catholic Society, on a large map as the work went on. They will be published in due time.

All I need to add is that the earth in this plot of ground was from 5 to 16 feet deep. The rock seems to rise slightly towards the south-west. The plastered floor was generally about 6 feet below the surface. It appeared to have been laid on the native earth, and in some places the ground was filled and levelled to receive it. The soil or débris was deepest at the north-east quarter, which, I have said, was near the Armenian grounds.

All the remains appear to me to be Christian, and it is not improbable that more than one church existed here at different periods. It is thought, I believe, that one of the earliest churches in Jerusalem stood upon Mount Zion.

The beautiful church now being erected here has behind it a venerable ancestry.

2. *An Excavation North of the City Wall.*—Extending from the north-west corner of Jerusalem to the Damascus Gate there is a narrow piece of land between the carriage road and the wall of the city, which is destined before long to be covered with houses. A long section running east from the New Gate is owned by the Latins; the next section is the property of the Syrian Catholics; the third, extending to the Damascus Gate, is owned by a private gentleman, who also is a Catholic.

The Syrian Catholics required a place for the pilgrims belonging to their order who visit Jerusalem, and on this ground they have, during the past summer, erected a hospice. The house is not a

large one, and indeed few Syrian Catholics come here; but this hospice when completed will be a very comfortable home for them.

Between the Damascus Gate and the New Gate the distance is not far from 1,500 feet, and the east end of this hospice is 460 feet west of the Damascus Gate. Referring to Warren's levels, the hospice stands between levels 2,479 and 2,489, its western end being very near level 2,489. Between 100 and 200 feet east of this hospice is the lowest part, 20 feet lower, level 2,469, of what Josephus calls a "broad valley," coming down from the north-west, and running on in a southerly direction through the city.

From the city wall to the hospice is 90 feet; from the city wall to the road is 130 feet. Under nearly the entire building there is an immense cistern, 66 feet long, 20 feet wide, and 40 feet deep. Excavating for the cistern afforded a good opportunity to ascertain the depth of the rock below the surface of the ground, and the character of the material which had accumulated here to such a great depth. While the work was going on I visited the place a great many times.

At the depth of 32 feet the rock was found. This refers to the depth below the general surface of the ground, not below the level of the road, which is 10 or more feet higher. The rock slopes, as we should expect, from north-west to south-east, and the difference in its level between the front and rear walls of the house was about 7 feet.

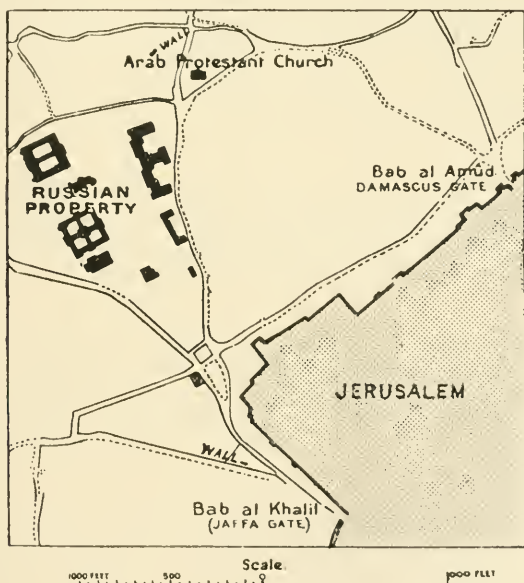
The *débris* accumulated here showed great variety, and indicated many different periods. Nothing was found in position. At the bottom of the excavation a number of large stones of Jewish workmanship had fallen on each other, and it was found easier to build over these than it was to break them up and remove them. The longest of these blocks was 10 feet, bevelled with rough face.

Higher up in this mass of *débris*, scattered here and there, were smaller stones, squared with smooth faces, bits of columns, carved stones for door jambs, others that were sections of arched windows, and a variety of materials belonging to the Christian, Crusading, and Arabic periods. Very little pottery was found, and very few objects of any kind. About 24 feet below the surface there was a thick layer of black material, composed mostly of ash and charcoal. This appeared to extend entirely across the excavation, at an angle, of course, for all the layers of *débris* followed the slope of the bed rock as mentioned above.

At 40 feet north of the city wall the line of an ancient wall appears, large stones running continuously both east and west. These appear to be in position. All large stones north of this line (notice what I have said about those at the bottom of the excavation) appear as if they had fallen.

3. *A Bit of the Ancient Upper Gihon Aqueduct.*—The point where these remains were found is about 575 feet west of the Jaffa Gate, and can be located more definitely as follows:—

About 390 feet west of the Jaffa Gate the road divides, and the upper or northern section we call the main Jaffa road; the lower



Plan of Excavations at Jerusalem.

the road to the Turkish cemetery, or the road to the Convent of the Cross. The land between these two roads terminates towards the east in a point (390 feet west of the Jaffa Gate), and widens towards the west. The land abutting on each road is now covered with houses. The building covering the ruins in question is at present (January, 1903) in process of erection. While excavating for its foundations these remains were uncovered.

This tongue of land is at this point about 50, possibly 60, feet wide. From the remains north to the city wall is about 150 feet. From the point where the conduit running eastward ends, as marked on the English map, to the remains is 160 feet. The distance thence to the Jaffa Gate is, as I have said, 575 feet.

The section of wall uncovered was about 20 feet long, 8 feet high, and consisted of three layers of stones with rough faces. Some of the stones were 4, others 6, feet long. The stones were entirely unlike anything existing in the present aqueduct. Inside this wall—that is, to the north of it—a shoulder of native rock, 6 feet high, seems to have projected southward across the line of the aqueduct. This was an obstacle, and had to be overcome. We may suppose that the aqueduct followed in general a sort of rock terrace, and when it reached this point the workmen found it cheaper to carry it around the point by means of solid masonry than to excavate a channel through the rock itself. This is offered as a suggestion.

It is a matter of considerable interest that such an important piece of genuine Jewish work should be brought to light; “brought to light,” like so many other interesting finds in Jerusalem, only to be immediately hidden again for generations, and perhaps for ever.

Perhaps I ought to say that this solid wall was not the canal itself, but simply for supporting or carrying the canal. Also the matter of level should be thought of. By the English map the present conduit touches level 2,519, while these remains are between levels 2,529 and 2,539.

4. *A Section of Agrippa's Wall.*—Two hundred feet north of the Arabic (St. Paul's) Church two roads—one running east and west, and the other north and south—intersect. In the south-west angle thus formed these remains were found. The point is 150 feet south of the road running east and west, the same distance from the one running north and south, and not far from 200 or 250 feet from the Arabic Church, at a point a little north of west.

The wall is about 20 feet long, and composed of two layers, the bottom layer longer than the upper layer. The stones are $3\frac{1}{2}$, $4\frac{1}{2}$, and 5 feet long, and have a bevel of 3 inches. The wall is 6 feet high. In levelling a piece of ground and making a cistern this wall was uncovered; but some of the stones were broken up, and others were covered—at all events, the wall was ruined.

These remains correspond to the line of Agrippa's Wall, as laid down by Dr. Robinson from extensive sections of it then in existence. When I first visited Jerusalem one of the first things to do was to visit Agrippa's Wall, of which 40 or 50 yards were visible. This was in 1869. Much of the wall had previously been broken up to supply stones for the new Austrian hospice. Many people now living in Jerusalem remember this wall perfectly well. It is not more than 20 years since the last massive blocks of it that remained above ground, to the north-west of the city, were broken up. In this connection I will mention a fact with which I have become acquainted during the past few years—namely, that certain persons ignore this wall, and declare that it never existed. This is dishonest, and in those who have the means in their hands of knowing better, is extremely reprehensible.

NOTES TAKEN ON A TOUR IN PALESTINE IN THE SPRING OF 1901.

By HERBERT RIX, B.A.

1. *Bethlehem of Galilee*.—Among the places I visited was Beit Lahm, seven miles north-west of Nazareth, the Bethlehem of Josh. xix, 15. Some attention has been directed to it of late years by the suggestion, hazarded by certain writers, that this was in reality the Bethlehem at which our Lord was born;¹ but it is so seldom visited by travellers that my dragoman, although he was an old hand at his work, declared that he had never heard of it. The description of it, often quoted—"a miserable village among oak-woods"—is quite inadequate. It is approached through a beautiful countryside consisting of rich arable land, and we passed on our way some of the largest herds of cattle and flocks of sheep which I saw in Palestine. Crossing a stream, we found ourselves surrounded by wide stretches of luxuriant oak-woods, and soon afterwards came to the spring which supplies the villagers with water, and which is nearly half a mile from the village. Some of the women were

¹ By Professor Stapfer in *La Palestine au temps de Jésus Christ* (4^e Édit.), p. 44, footnote; and by Canon Cheyne in the *Encycl. Biblica*, art. "Nazareth."

washing clothes there as we passed. Beit Lahm itself is a wretched collection of hovels, only one or two being built of stone, the rest of mud.

The view from the place is charming. The land slopes gently to the south. On the W.S.W. is Carmel, with the "Place of Sacrifice" standing up prominently. From south-west to south-east, beyond the Plain of Esdraelon, extend the blue hills of Samaria. Between the village and the great plain is a strip of slightly-undulating ground, clothed with extensive woods. From E.S.E. to E.N.E. are the hills of Galilee, but Nazareth is not in sight.

Robinson, who discovered Beit Lahm, speaks of it as being "without a trace of antiquity except the name." This, however, is a mistake. Guérin (*Galilée*, t. I, p. 393) mentions the remains of two ancient buildings. One, "almost entirely destroyed," he believed to be a synagogue, the other a Christian church. The scanty remains of what I suppose to be the former lie on the east of the present village, and consist merely of the bases of five round pillars set in a row, the section of each column measuring 2 feet, and the pillars being 7 feet apart.

Between this remnant and the village is a square pit, the sides lined with large, squared stones, and at the bottom of it is seen the opening of a passage, which the Sheikh said extended underground for a long distance. Nearer still to the village is a vaulted structure built of stones, many of which measured $2' \times 1' 3'' \times 1'$. Numbers of squared stones and prostrate columns lay around the village, covering a considerable area.

2. *A Spring near 'Ain et-Tâbigha*.—A man who was fishing in the lake with a casting-net told us of a fresh-water spring called 'Ain el-Hasel, which I could not find marked upon the survey map, and we went to see it. It issues from the base of a round-topped knoll less than a quarter of a mile north of 'Ain et-Tâbigha. I tasted the water and found it quite sweet, while 'Ain et-Tâbigha is brackish. The fisherman told a not very intelligible story about it, to the effect that it was formerly covered by a round stone with a hole in it, through which the water forced itself up in a fountain, and that at one time it was carried by an aqueduct to Khân Minyeh, where it turned a mill, the ruins of which remain. He said that the Bedawin have broken the stone, but the pieces of it still exist.

3. *Bethabara*.—We camped at Tubaket Fahil (the ancient Pella), travelled thence up the Ghôr to the ford identified by Colonel Conder with Bethabara, and crossed by it to Beisan. The Sheikh of Fahil, who acted as our guide, declared that he had never heard the ford called Abârah; the Fellahîn simply called it Makhâda, and none of them ever used the name Abârah. I also questioned the Bedawin on both sides of the ford, but they all denied that the term Abârah was ever used by them; they called it Hammud.

Negative evidence of this kind does not, of course, carry very much weight; but I afterwards found some reason for inclining to the view that another ford much lower down the Jordan might be the Bethabara of Scripture. This was during an excursion which I made from Jericho to Tell Nimrîn. The theory of Sir George Grove, that Beth Nimrah (Tell Nimrîn) was the true Bethabara, is well known.¹ It rests mainly upon etymological grounds, and I wished to see for myself whether it appeared to be borne out topographically. I found the Nahr Nimrîn near the Tell a mere dribble of water, slowly filtering its way through a mass of sub-tropical vegetation, which completely choked the channel, and was not easy to penetrate. It was difficult on the face of it to imagine a public baptising taking place at such a spot.

However, it has to be allowed that when Beth-Nimrah was an inhabited town the vegetation would be kept within bounds; also that the spring of 1901 was exceptionally dry, and that nearly all the water had been taken off for purposes of irrigation. Moreover, much might be done here with a small stream (and small it must have been at best) by means of damming. So that no one can say that it is impossible for the baptising to have taken place in this Nahr.

The point, however, which I wish to note is that the name Nimrîn is applied not only to the Tell, but to the whole district along the Wady Nimrîn. After we had crossed the Jordan and travelled for some distance towards the Tell, which lies over five miles to the east of the river, I asked the Bedawi who guided me when we should get to Nimrîn, and he immediately replied, "We are in Nimrîn now." Upon being closely questioned he emphatically maintained that the whole country from the Tell down to the very bank of the Jordan is called Nimrîn. May not the philological

¹ See Smith's *Dictionary of the Bible*, art. "Beth-Nimrah"; and *Encycl. Bibl.*, arts. "Bethabara" and "Bethany (2)."

view, therefore, that Bethabara was Beth Nimrîn, be harmonised with the traditional view that the Baptism took place in Jordan, by supposing it to have taken place at the ford which crosses the Jordan near the junction of the Wady Nimrîn with that river. This ford, which is near the old wooden bridge, would be, then as now, the one used by all who passed to and fro between Jericho and Beth-Nimrah, and the town would probably give the ford its name—the Ford of Beth-Nimrah or Bethanabra.

THE IMMOVABLE EAST.

By PHILIP G. BALDENSBERGER, Esq.

(Continued from p. 77.)

(l) THE tailor, or “sewer” (*khayyât*), as he is called, is seen in every town squatting on his elevated bench, and stitching garments together, or embroidering in black, silver, or gold upon the jackets and waistcoats, or about the pockets of the broad, native trousers (*libâs*). The last-mentioned articles of clothing are also called *sirwâl*, which is taken by some to answer to the *sarbêlîn* of Shadrach, Meshach, and Abednego (Dan. iii, 21) when they were thrown into the fiery furnace with all their clothes. The Authorised Version has “coats” or “mantles,” but the Revised Version “hosen.” The waistcoat (*sideriyet*) is not mentioned in the Bible, nor is the short jacket (*jubbat*), on which is sewed the greater part of the embroidery, called *kaşab* in the vulgar speech. Clothes are generally made to order, not prepared beforehand for sale, as they are very costly, and the tailor cannot afford to invest money in goods that may never be asked for.

(m) The shoemaker, *skâfi* (سكافي), does not make the European black boots and shoes, but only the soft red and yellow shoes of tanned sheep-skins, dyed red for the men and yellow for the women, and, in days now gone by, black for the Christians and Jews. These shoes are called *şurmâyet*, and are to be kept distinct from the coarser shoes worn by the fellahîn (وطا *watta* or عداس *madâs*). The *şurmâyet* are generally made with the traditional point in front turning up, whilst the fellahîn shoes are without this ornament, and

are roughly tanned, the hair of the animal often covering the upper part of the shoe. The skins (of cows and oxen for the upper part, and of camels for the soles) are imperfectly tanned and thrown down in the street before the shops, where the passers-by complete the tanning by walking on them. The red shoes of the men are low, and do not reach above the ankles; but the yellow shoes of the women are more like boots, and cover all the bare part of the feet. The shoes of the fellahin are made very high, and are buttoned in front by a leather button, to prevent the thorns and thistles hurting the feet whilst harvesting; they are only worn for hard work. Shoes are not made to measure, but the shoemaker has quantities on hand, and the customer is fitted as well as possible. The fellah woman has a somewhat lighter and, to some extent, a more elegant shoe, sometimes made of yellow leather—a rough imitation of that worn by her sister in the town.

The Bedâwy sandal *na'î*, is the *na'î* of the Scriptures, and, as a rule, is not made by the ordinary tradesman, but by a wandering shoemaker, generally an Algerian Jew, who puts up his temporary shop at the corner of a street, and thus can afford to make cheap sandals and do repairs for a few coppers.

Several other names for shoes are used in Egypt, as *markâb*, *hedhâ*, and *khef*, or easy shoes, but none of them are philologically connected with any Hebrew term. In general, the Hebrews, from the time of Abraham to the days of St. John the Baptist (Gen. xiv, 23; Luke iii, 16), wore the *na'î* of the Bedawîn. But in towns, especially in Jerusalem, a more valuable shoe, made of *tahash*, a particular kind of leather (Ezek. xvi, 10), was worn by the higher classes only. The *kabkâb* is a high wooden clog, often inlaid with mother-of-pearl, and with satin straps embroidered with silver or gold. The huge red Bedawîn boots (*jizmet*) with blue tassels and iron heels are of Damascus manufacture, and were probably worn by the inhabitants of Asher, who imported them from their commercial neighbours the Phœnicians, since in Deut. xxxiii, 25, we read: "Of Asher he (Moses) said . . . thy shoes shall be iron and brass." Town shoemakers now establish themselves also in the larger villages and small towns such as Bethlehem, Beth Jâla, and Râmallah, where even the European *kinderjy* is also found. The shoe and boot are types of humiliation: speaking of a shoemaker, it is polite to say *Ba'îl minak skâfi* (بعيد منك سكاڤى)—"Far (be it) from you, a shoemaker." The

shoe is a vile object in the East, and it must never be mentioned together with anything clean—*e.g.*, a part of the head, food, &c.—and it is therefore a great insult to call anyone “a shoe.” The Prophet Amos deplores the selling of the poor for a pair of shoes (Amos ii, 6 ; viii, 6), a humiliation which was not to remain unpunished. To kill a man with a shoe is contemptible, and, if anything, increases the sorrow of the death. King David, having conquered Edom and put garrisons there, says, “Over Edom will I cast my shoe” (Ps. lx, 8), as though the victory were not sufficient without this humiliation.

(n) The tanner (*dabbāgh*) is of course required where skins are turned into shoes and other articles. Besides the odour of the badly-tanned skins or putrid particles adhering to them, a number of foul-smelling ingredients are employed, and consequently the tannery is as far away as possible from the towns. The proverb says: “God curse the tannery, which needs dog’s dirt.” At Jerusalem the tanneries are near the spring of Siloam, at Jaffa and Haifa on the seashore, and at Ramleh outside in the gardens beside the water-wheels.

The tanner is mentioned in the New Testament (Acts ix, 43), and the traditional house of Simon the tanner is still shown at Jaffa, but in the Old Testament there is no allusion to tanning. Yet we must suppose that the Israelites had tanned skins and leather. Adam and Eve had coats of skin or leather. Moses also made a covering for the tabernacle of ramskins dyed red, like the red ramskins of modern days (Exod. xxxix, 34). The mention also of the fine shoes in Cant. vii, 1, presuppose some knowledge of tanning. The prophet Elijah, besides the over-mantle of the fellahin also wore a leather girdle (2 Kings i, 8) which was tanned on one side.

(o) The dyers (*ṣabbāgh*) are mostly dyers in blue, though black, red, and green also are sometimes required by country women for their veils, and for wool to be woven into the carpets. The better class wear cloth, but the workmen and traders have a blue blouse, which they wear over their other clothes. The sheeting is bought and given to the dyer. The indigo, or *nilut* (نيلة), from the Nile is employed. The dyers are mostly confined to one street, and the long dyed stripes of sheeting are to be seen suspended along the houses, the ends being secured to the flat roofs by stones. The country women, with the exception of the inhabitants of some

villages in the north, wear blue-dyed shirting, and all Bedawîn women are clad in dark blue. The modern dyers are now mostly Mohammedans, and have probably learnt the trade from the Jews, who, in the Middle Ages, were the dyers in the country. In Jerusalem, and probably in many other places also, they paid an annual sum to the King for the exclusive right of dyeing. Benjamin of Tudela, enumerating the Jews in his journey to the East, finds the majority of them settled in Philistia, where they met with more sympathy from the Mohammedans than in the Christian (Crusading) districts. Wherever he met Jews there were dyers among them. The Jews, who in his day were comparatively numerous in Philistia and in the country of the tribe of Dan, disappeared in the course of the centuries following until 1880, when they again settled there, and founded many flourishing colonies. Very little is known about the dyers of Canaan. The Phœnicians, we know, were acquainted with the art of dyeing in purple, and certainly possessed their own secret methods. Whether the many-coloured clothes, curtains, &c., were dyed in Palestine we do not know, and even the names of the various colours are uncertain. Different interpreters render the names differently—so *tékéleth* (תֵּכֶלֶת) is translated “blue” in English, but “yellow silk” in the German. Generally speaking, the names of colours in Arabic are derived from some object which usually has that colour, and so it may have been to some extent, at least, in Hebrew. So, for example, “white” from eggs (in Arabic) or milk (in Hebrew), “red” from blood (Hebrew), and so forth, and different names may sometimes have been used in different districts. The scarlet colour with which the dyer dyes the spinned wool which is to be woven into grey or black carpets is still made from the cochineal insect, called “worm” both in Arabic and Hebrew. This insect was formerly bred on the cactuses of Mount Ebal, and the crimson, often called *tôla’ath*, “a worm,” receives the name *karmil* in 2 Chron. ii, 7 [6], perhaps from an insect bred by the Phœnicians on Mount Carmel.

A dyer is well known by his blue hands, for blue, as above remarked, is the colour mostly handled. Though blue and green are well-known colours, a grey ass will always be called green by the fellahîn and Bedawîn. Grey is very little used in clothes, and the name of the colour is rarely pronounced. White, green, and red are sacred colours in Islam, though white, being a natural colour,

was worn by non-believers also. But as it is difficult to keep the clothes clean, some other colour had to be taken, and the dark blue or almost black shade was allowed the Christians and Jews, whilst green, the colour of the Prophet, and adapted by the Fâtimids, was strictly forbidden (until a few years ago) to anyone who was not a Moslem.

(p) *Workers in Metal.* I.—The blacksmith (*huddād*), or worker in iron (*hadid*), is the Biblical *harāsh barzel* (חרש ברזל), “artificer in iron” (Isa. xliv, 12, cf. Gen. iv, 22). He makes agricultural implements and all kinds of ironwork for windows and doors.

II.—The coppersmith (*nahhāsh*), the worker in brass and copper, has always been one of the most useful workers, and there is allusion to his art in the pre-Israelitish period in the person of Tubal Cain (Gen. iv, 22). Not only have the richer Arabs their copper kitchen utensils, but even the poorer classes have at least the kettle of copper, and consequently a whole street in every town is filled with their shops.

The various kitchen utensils are lined with zinc to prevent verdigris, especially where sour foods are prepared. The zinc is called *kaṣḍîr* or *ma'dan*, which very likely answers to the *bādîl* of the prophet Ezekiel (xxvii, 12). The word is translated tin, and the metal was imported by the Phœnicians, perhaps from England.

The usual set of copper vessels to be found in a house comprises:—(1) The *dist*, the largest kettle, generally a little broader at the bottom than at the top, and with two iron handles by which to lift it off the fire. In the towns they are more often used to boil water for washing purposes, whilst in the country they are generally used for cooking large quantities of food, rice, or even a whole sheep, as fellahîn rarely cook small quantities of meat. This is, perhaps, the *dāl* used by those who offered sacrifices at the religious feasts (1 Sam. ii, 14). It has no cover, and is put on an iron tripod, whence the proverb, “The kettle can stand only on three (feet)” (الدست على ثلاث). (2) The *tanjarat* is the common everyday kettle, much smaller than the above cauldron, and with a copper cover, perhaps the Biblical *kīyyôr* (1 Sam. ii, 14). In this all the family meals are prepared. (3) The *meklat* or *meklāyat* is the frying-pan, used for such small dishes as are prepared in a few minutes. It is not always of copper, except in the case of the richer classes. The smith also makes them of iron, and these are more commonly used by the poorer folk.

They are called *mehmās* by the fellahin, and probably correspond to the iron pan used by the prophet Ezekiel (iv, 3, *mahābath*), and a similar utensil was also used by the Levites (Lev. vi, 21). (4) The various kinds of trays exposed in the confectioner's shop are called *tabak* or *ṣināyet*. Of such a kind was the tray with the offering of manna which Aaron placed before the Lord (Exod. xvi, 33, *sinśeneth*). (5) Bowls of different sizes for washing the hands and feet are also a necessary outfit for town houses, and are sometimes accompanied with a copper jug. The *ṣaḥen*, which is made of pottery, is much in use in poorer homes.

III.—The gold- and silver-smiths are usually found all in one street, and the *ṣā'igh* (as the smith is called) is well known, as ornaments are worn now by all classes, like the gold plates, earrings, collars, bracelets, and so forth, of the luxurious daughters of Sion (Isaiah iii).

Ornaments in general are called *ṣiḡhat*. The better classes wear a large golden conical plate on the top of the head; it is called *ḵurs* (properly "disc"), and is sometimes fixed to the neck by fine chains. The hair of the women falls back in numerous plaits, and every plait terminates with a small ornament in gold—a coin, the figure of a star, or the moon (crescent), &c.; the whole arrangement is called *ṣuffet*. Each plait is bound with a cotton or silken thread (*sharīṭ*).

The *ḵurs* is held by a chain (the *zenāk*), which is often ornamented with small coins, and with a larger one at the extremity; the number of chains is not necessarily limited to one. The neck is covered by a golden necklace, consisting of small pieces of gold hanging close together. It is called *shu'iriyet* (شعيرية), "barley ornament," on account of their resemblance to grains of barley. There is also a second and simpler chain called *klādet*, which, also, is often a string of beads. We may compare the golden chain worn by Joseph in Egypt (Gen. xli, 42, *rābūd*), and the strings of jewels on Solomon's bride (Cant. i, 10).¹ The earrings (*ḥalak ed-dunain*) are also of fine gold work of different shapes, either mere rings (cf. the Hebrew *'agil*, Ezek. xvi, 12), or ornamented earrings—the *u'zem* of the Israelites. If we may connect *u'zem* with the Arabic *nezen*, may it not have been a necklace with images, and if so, may this not have been the reason why Jacob when leaving Padan-

¹ *Rabada* in Arabic means "to tie."

Aram buried the *nézems* of his people along with the strange gods (Gen. xxxv, 4) ? The nose-ring (Gen. xxiv, 47 ; Isaiah iii, 21, *nézem lu-aph*) may still be seen among Bedawy and fellâh women, and is known as *khezâun*.

Ankle rings (*khalukhel*) are fast disappearing from the towns. The bracelets, called *asâwir*, are generally made of gold for the richer classes, of silver, or even copper, for the poor. Some are simple circles, others have hinges to fit on the wrists only.

The *šimid* of the Israelites (Num. xxxi, 52 ; Ezek. xvi, 11) may be compared with the Arab *šamada*, "to adorn." Rings are often worn on more fingers than one, as they are very cheap, and everyone can afford to have a few.

The tiny tweezers, *muntâf* (منتاف), are used to pluck out offending hairs. These may have been known to the daughters of Zion, who were so anxious about their looks (Isaiah iii, 16).

These are the principal ornaments made by the goldsmiths, though of late, articles of European make have made their way into towns, and many an article which has stood for perhaps forty centuries will fall out of use before the advance of European goods.

The Hebrew goldsmith, *šorêph* (Isaiah xl, 19), was at the same time the money-changer, the modern *šarrâf*—that is, if we may infer from his changing the money into an image (Isaiah xlvi, 6), that he also acted as banker. The goldsmith of Mount Ephraim (Judges xvii, 4) made the graven image with 200 shekels of silver. This does not mean that the silver or money was molten. There is a clearer case, I believe, in the gathering of the money by King Jehoash for the repair of the Temple (2 Kings xii).

IV.—The gunsmith (سيتلي), who, in fact, is only a repairer of firearms, is often combined with the cutler (*sakâkiny*) ; Palestine cutlery is not of importance, for swords and daggers are mostly of Damascus or Egyptian manufacture. It would seem as though the Philistines, Babylonians, Romans, and others had hindered this branch of industry, so that it could never develop in the country, and by these means revolutions might be avoided. Firearms are mostly imported from the surrounding countries. The Bedawy Daher, Governor of Acre, introduced a good many about 150 years ago, when his compatriots were as yet unacquainted with them, and had only bows and arrows (Volney, *Voyage en Syrie*, II, chap. xxv), and it is by no means unlikely that some of these very

arms may yet be in use, especially when we remember how carefully the arms would be handed down from father to son as a relic. The cutler makes swords, daggers, and knives.

The ordinary word for sword is *saif*, that in the Hebrew Old Testament is *hēreb*, which name survives in the modern *harbet*, a short spear generally carried about by Dervishes. The swords are curved with the sharp edge inside the curve, and the back is very thick. The weapon is usually in a wooden sheath which is covered with skin.

Spears are of different lengths; the shorter ones are called *harbet*, and the longer, *ramh* or *mezrāk*. The Bedawīn also call their spears. *shuljē*[t] (شُلْجَة). There are also several names for the Israelitish spears: King Saul carried the short *hānūth* (1 Sam. xxvi. 7, 16), as also did Abner (2 Sam. ii. 23), whilst the *rāmah* was carried by warriors (Judges v. 8; 2 Chron. xi. 12); probably the Israelites had only the shorter kind, the longer ones being more adapted for horsemen.

Daggers are designated by the foreign word *khanjar* or by *sikkīn*. The latter is a straight knife, 20 to 25 centimetres long, used to stab or slay an animal; it is the *sakkīn* of Prov. xxiii. 2. The fellāhīn and Bedawīn carry a small curved two-edged dagger, called *shībriyet*, because it is about a span (*shibr*) long; it is generally stuck in the girdle, the sheath being fastened to the strap so that only the knife can be taken out. Of such a kind may have been the knife (*ma'akēleth*) with which Abraham was about to slay Isaac (Gen. xxii. 6). Smaller knives, such as almost every fellāh carries dangling at his girdle, are not of Palestine manufacture. The small folding knife (*mūs*) is Egyptian, and as already remarked (*see* above p. 71) is also used as a razor. The knife used for household purposes, cutting up meat, or preparing the vermicelli, is called *khussat* (خوصة), and may answer to the *muhālāphīm* which Ezra brought from Babylon to Jerusalem (Ezra i. 9).

V.—The tinsmith (*tanakjy* or *sunkary*, both with a Turkish termination) is due to the Spanish Jews, who are almost exclusively the tinsmiths of the country. The metal, though said to have been an article of Phœnician commerce, does not seem to have found favour in Palestine till of late years (perhaps a century or so), and was not utilised very much until cheap petroleum came into use and small tin lamps and tin cases began to spread even into the fellāh districts, seriously damaging the trade in pottery.

VI.—The farrier (*baytûr*) is also the veterinary surgeon, and his shop is always near the gates in the neighbourhood of the khan and coffee shops where travellers mostly put up their animals, and are likely to require his services (*cf.* above, p. 70). The horse-shoes are made to cover the pad of the foot. A small opening is left in the middle to prevent the foot from rotting, but pebbles are often thus wedged in, causing lameness. The early Israelites had no horses until they were introduced by the kings; whether they shod them or not is uncertain, although the remark in Isaiah v, 28, "their horses' hoofs shall be counted like flint," perhaps proves that other nations knew how to render the hoofs more resisting than did the Jews. The prophet Micah, too, speaks of brass hoofs (iv, 13).

(*To be continued.*)

REPORTS BY R. A. STEWART MACALISTER, M.A., F.S.A.

I.—ADDITIONAL NOTES ON TOMBS IN THE WÂDY ER-RABÂBI.¹

THE tombs beside that of Thecla, daughter of Marulf, have recently been cleared out, and are now inhabited by a fellah family. I examined one of these (No. 10) after it had been cleared out, but before the family moved in, and was confirmed in my hypothesis that it is a rock-cut dwelling, not a tomb. There is an irregular bench running round the wall, but no graves, and of the three openings one is a doorway and two are certainly windows.

The tomb of the Abbess Thecla is also now turned into a residence, and is in a very dirty condition.

The Greek Monastery has been enlarging its borders, and some further tombs have been discovered. One, north of the great tomb (No. 56) with the pillared portico, consists of four chambers: the first with four *kôkîm* and one *arcosolium*; the second, approached by descending steps from the first, two *kôkîm* and one *arcosolium*; the third, a simple passage, with a sunk bench-grave along each side; the fourth, a chamber 5 feet 5 inches square, with three

¹ See *Quarterly Statement*, 1900, pp. 225, *seq.*; 1901, pp. 145, *seq.* 215, *seq.*

arcosolia. In the back wall of one of these arcosolia are three niches, whose presence is not easy to explain.

A second tomb, just west of the monastery, presents some curious details. It has two chambers: the second I found so full of water that I was unable to measure it—it is smaller than the first. The outer chamber has seven kôkim, one of which is open to the air and, by means of a window, gives light to the inner chamber. An ossuary cupboard, sunk in the bench that surrounds the wall, is also noticeable. There are two crosses, with trifid ends to the arms, cut on the east wall.

South of these are two tombs which, owing to an accumulation of dirt and rubbish about the entrances, I was previously unable to enter. The first of these, No. 47 (over the door of which are the **ΤΗC ΑΓΙΑC CΙΩΝ** inscriptions), is still troublesome to examine, as the vestibule is filled with powdered lime. There are three chambers: the first with 10 kôkim (one, four, three, and three on the different walls); the second with five kôkim; the third full of earth, and apparently showing no detail worth notice. The second tomb has two chambers behind an extraordinarily deep and narrow vestibule. There is one kôk in the first chamber, two arcosolia in the second.

II.—GREEK INSCRIPTIONS IN THE MUSEUM AT JERUSALEM.

I forward squeezes of four Greek inscriptions now preserved in the Government Museum at Jerusalem. Two of them are the inscriptions which I found in the Government House at Biâr es-Seba' last year, and which have already been published in the *Quarterly Statement* (1902, pp. 232, *et seq.*). Of the other two the provenance is unknown to me.

The first of these has been in the Museum for some years. It is a small fragment, broken in two pieces. The inscription is—

+ ΕΝΘΑΔΕ ΚΕΙΝΤΕ

ΑΝΑΚΤΑCΙΑC ΙΩΑΝΝ . . .

ΘΕΟΔΩΡΟΥ Μ^Η ΠΕΡΙΠΕ . . .

ΙΝΔ . . Β ΤΟΥΔΕ . . ΥΤΟΥ . . .

.

The second has been recently acquired by the Museum. It is a finely-cut inscription on a long, rectangular slab of limestone. The lettering is quite perfect :—

+ΕΝΘΑΔΕ ΚΕΙΤΕ Ο ΜΑΚΑΡΙΟ|C ΚΑΙΟΥΜΟC
ΑΙΛΗCΙΟC ΑΝΕΠΑ|Ε Μ^Η ΔΕCΙΟΥ ΙC
ΙΝΔCΣ ΕΤΟΥC ΚΑΤ|Α ΕΛΕΥΘΕΡΩΠΟΛΙΤΑC
ΔΜΤ +

Both are Christian tombstones, giving the names of the deceased and the date of their deaths : the first commemorating Anastasia and John [children ?] of Theodôros, the second “the blessed Kaïoumos of Jerusalem.” The date of the latter is 344 of the era of Eleutheropolis.

III.—THE GREEK INSCRIPTION AT KURYET SA‘IDEH.

While in Jerusalem I visited the interesting ruins of Kuryet Sa‘ideh, near ‘Ain Karîm, in company with Dr. Masterman. The inscription lying among the ruins is not correctly given in the *Memoirs*¹ : the true reading is—

ΜΑΡΙΝΟΥΔΙΑΚ^Ο
ΚΤ8ΤΟΚΤΗΜΑ . . .

about three or four letters being lost from the second fragment.

I hope, when opportunity offers, to revisit the site and prepare a squeeze of the inscription.

IV.—THE ILLICIT EXCAVATIONS AT BEIT JIBRÎN.

There does not seem to have been so much illicit excavation in this unfortunate neighbourhood within the past year as during the year before. No great discovery has been made, or at any rate heard of, since the painted tombs first described by Dr. Peters were brought to light. The principal tomb of this series has been secured by a strong wooden door, the key of which is kept in the Government House at Hebron. The door shows evident traces of having

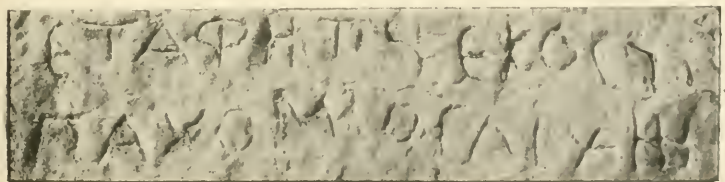
¹ *Survey of Western Palestine*, vol. iii, p. 134.

been assaulted by people trying to break in, but so far it has resisted their efforts. The painted tombs are still intact. The third tomb among those specially noticed by Dr. Peters (that with the owls) is, however, no longer accessible; it has been filled with earth thrown in to its mouth from small tombs opened in its immediate neighbourhood. A fellah from Beit Jibrîn recently offered for sale to an English lady in Jerusalem a piece of plaster with an animal figure painted upon it. This does *not* belong to the great tomb with the frieze of animals, all of which are intact; it may possibly belong to another which is being concealed, but on this I could get no information. The most curious recent discovery is a cave of the Sandahannah type, consisting of three large bell-shaped chambers clustered round a central entrance shaft, with a staircase running down round its sides. In the floor of the central chamber of the three is sunk a square well shaft 41 feet deep; at the bottom is a spring, and about a foot of water.

THE PACHOMIOS INSCRIPTION IN WADY ER-RABÂBL.

By R. A. STEWART MACALISTER, M.A., F.S.A.

THIS inscription was first published in the *Quarterly Statement* for 1890 (p. 70) by Dr. Schick, in the course of a report on some newly-opened tombs near the Aceldama. A reading by M. Papadoculos (? Papadopoulos), with comments by Dr. A. S. Murray, was appended. The



Revue Biblique, *Quarterly Statement* (1900, p. 234 *seq.*), and, more recently, the *Recueil d'Archéologie Orientale* (t. v., p. 166), have since contained attempts at rendering by Père Germer-Durand, myself, and Professor Clermont-Ganneau respectively.

The difficulty of the inscription certainly does not lie in any obscurity of the writing or injury to the rock-surface in which it is cut. Every

letter is perfect, and it is quite certain there never were any more characters than those given in the following transcript :—

**ΕΤΑΦΗΤΙΧΕΚΟΤΙ
ΠΑΧΟΜΙΟΣΛΙΨΗ+**

The loop of the Φ is at the top of the upright, the little Ι strokes rather under the right-hand ends of the horizontal bars of the Τ's in the middle and at the end of the first line : the Υ is cut thus—Ϸ, but with the horizontal bar rather oblique. In the second line the Ψ is sloping, but cannot possibly be anything but Ψ ; the Η+ are in ligature, the horizontal bar of the Η being oblique.

In my own attempt at interpretation I was reduced to the desperate expedient of treating ΤΙ as a word-separator, and regarding the resultant νεκος as a humiliating epithet. The most that I could ever claim for this reading is that it is not impossible ; if I am not wrong, such names as Fedus, Ima, Stereus, &c., are not unknown to Christian epigraphy.

The other readings, excepting Père Germer-Durand's, fail in the interpretation of the letters following ΕΤΑΦΗ. It is quite impossible to combine the ΙϷ into Η, or to read τιν ΤΙϷ as by any system of spelling the equivalent of τῆ. This is the flaw in the brilliantly ingenious reading of Professor Clermont-Ganneau. The reading of M. Papadopoulos makes no complete sense, for "Pachomios of Lychidos [?] was buried on the twentieth" means nothing ; that of Dr. Murray assumes a lost beginning to the inscription, which is out of the question.

Père Germer-Durand's ἐτάφη τ. Ϸ ἔκοστι Παχόμιος λ. ψνῆ ("P. was buried on the 20th day of — month, in the year 758") takes the Ϸ as a symbol for a month, and λ as an initial for "year." As a general rule, however, Λ is the abbreviation for "year," not λ. This reading is the simplest and most straightforward, and the most in accordance with the actual letters as they are found on the rock-surface. But the insertion of the personal name between the month and the year strikes the reader as being strange and improbable. It is, of course, possible (but unlikely) that the first two words to be cut were—

**ΕΤΑΦΗ
ΠΑΧΟΜΙΟΣ**

and that the date was afterwards filled in at the ends of the lines rather than below, where the rock-surface is rougher. For λ ψνῆ, λ ιψῆ should, of course, be read.

Here, then, we have a short inscription in Greek, absolutely legible and uninjured, and yet five persons who have turned their attention to

it—three of them epigraphists of the standing of Murray, Germer-Durand, and Clermont-Gaumeau—have been unable to produce a reading that cannot be criticised. This is surely a remarkable circumstance; but it is, I think, capable of an easy explanation.

I have examined the inscription many times before and since I published my previous remarks upon it, and every time I see it the conviction grows on me that the whole thing is a forgery. The letters have, most certainly, been touched up at some time, for they are perfectly fresh, and show not the slightest sign of water-wear: a remarkable circumstance, as the tomb is always very damp, especially in winter. I am aware that the tomb has not been open more than 12 or 13 years, and that the inscription, being inside the chamber, has not been exposed to the weather for a longer time. But even allowing for this, I cannot help feeling that the inscription is so fresh and so remarkable in itself that it must be looked on with at least grave suspicion.

I forward with this paper a squeeze in justification of the comments I have ventured to make on readings by those who in Greek-Christian epigraphy are my masters.

(The inscription of the Abbess Thecla (*Quarterly Statement*, 1900, p. 238) has been cleaned since I examined it, and I had another look at it the other day—a disagreeable task, by the way, as a most unprepossessing family of fellahin have taken up their abode in the tomb. The little word under the Abbess's name I now make out to be **CECA**. What it means I have no idea; but I am quite convinced that my former reading, **ΘECA**, is as impossible as the old **CEBA**.)

THE "BUCKLER" OF HAMZA.

DR. D'ERF WHEELER, the Honorary Secretary of the Fund in Jerusalem, writes that the photograph of the "buckler" of Hamza, the uncle of Muhammad, was taken by the Rev. J. E. Hanauer from a replica in metal which now hangs in the large hall of the Armenian Patriarchate. Mr. Hanauer stated that he remembered the original, which appeared to be of bronze. "It disappeared about 17 years ago, and was said to have been sent to Constantinople. The copy in the Armenian Convent was made about 30 years ago by the Armenian Patriarch himself, who was a very clever man."

According to Dr. Schick (*Beit el-Makdas*, 1st edition, 1887, p. 12), the "buckler" formerly stood on an antique marble altar at the south-west pier of the "Dome of the Rock," and was "a round metal plate about 80 centimètres in diameter,¹ with very beautiful bird and animal forms in circles round it. . . . In the middle, on the reverse side, is a round.

¹ The actual diameter of the replica is 67 cm., or 2 feet 2½ inches.

movable ring. It never was a shield. Some suppose it to have been the lid of a fount. I hold it to be a bell, or that at least it served as a bell."

Dr. Wheeler also enclosed the following statement by Osman Effendi el-Khaldi, the Notary of Jerusalem, corroborated by the Danafs, custodians of the *Ḥarâm es-Sherif*:—"The so-called shield of Hamza was of marble stone, the shape of a shield, placed in the *Şakhrâh* at Jerusalem, on the back of which there were in relief engravings of various animals. This stone or shield was removed from the *Şakhrâh* by Râouf Pasha 15 years ago, and sent to the museum at Constantinople.



Buckler of Hamza.

Most probably this stone or shield was placed by one of the Crusader princes, as Moslems use no pictures or engravings to this day."

The "buckler," *Tars sayidna Hamza*, was pointed out to me in 1864. It was then enclosed in a wooden frame, which rested upon the altar mentioned by Dr. Schick, and was firmly attached to the pier. As the frame was strengthened by crossbars it was only possible to see portions of a polished surface which resembled the back of a bronze shield. In 1866 the frame had become partly detached from the pier, and I was able to obtain a glance at the other side, which proved to be ornamented with figures of birds and animals in low relief; and I came to the conclusion

that the "buckler" was an old bronze shield of Persian manufacture.¹ In 1881, when I next visited Jerusalem, the "buckler" had disappeared. On receiving the photograph from Dr. Wheeler I took it to the British Museum, and was at once informed by Mr. Read, F.S.A., Keeper of Mediæval Antiquities, that the supposed "buckler" was in reality a Chinese mirror of, probably, the early part of the sixteenth century.

The presence of a highly ornamented Chinese mirror in a Muhammadan mosque is difficult to explain. In the early part of the sixteenth century there was considerable commercial intercourse between the Arabs and Chinese, and it is possible that the mirror was brought to Jerusalem and given to the Sheikh of the Harâm by some Arab trader on a pilgrimage to the Holy City. It was almost certainly placed in the "Dome of the Rock" before the occupation of Jerusalem by the Osmanli Turks (A.D. 1517).

M. Clermont-Ganneau describes the "buckler" as "a great metal mirror of exceptional size," like the ancient metal mirrors of the Arabs. He refers to an allusion to it by Ibn Baṭûṭa, 1355 A.D., and considers it to be of Persian origin, and that it descends, perhaps, from a Sassanid prototype, possibly of Byzantine origin (*Archæological Researches in Palestine*, i, 219).

C. W. W.

DEAD SEA OBSERVATIONS.

By Dr. E. W. G. MASTERMAN.

(Continued from p. 407, 1902.)

September 19th, 1902.—*Fall of Dead Sea level* since May 30th, 16½ inches.

October 24th, 1902.—*Fall of Dead Sea level* since September 19th, 8 inches.

December 31st, 1902.—*Rise of Dead Sea level* since October 24th, 6½ inches.

February 6th, 1903.—*Rise of Dead Sea level* since December 31st, 8 inches.

A Rain Storm.—On October 22nd we had our first rainfall, beginning with a thunder-storm, and a total fall of .32 inch in the 24 hours in Jerusalem.

On the 23rd, when on my road to Jericho, I saw rain falling all around me, but scarcely a drop in my actual path. The fall on the previous day must, however, have been exceedingly violent in the region traversed by

¹ The position of the "shield" in 1864 is shown on the O.S. plan of the "Dome of the Rock." See also *Notes to the O.S. of Jerusalem*, note, p. 35.

the Jericho road, for in the *Wâdy es-Sidr* I found on all sides signs of violent flooding. Although at this time there was no running water in the torrent bed, it was quite clear that but a few hours previously there had been from 5 to 6 feet of water over a great part of its course, overflowing the usual banks into the surrounding fields in many places; deposits of sediment, weeds, and dried grass lay high up along the banks. Where the road crosses the torrent-bed on bridges the water had been unable to get through fast enough, and accumulations of water to the depth of 15 to 20 feet, and of considerable surface area had formed, leading to the partial destruction of one of the bridges. In one place the water, after making a great pool, which must have been 30 feet across, had flowed across the road carrying numbers of large stones in its course. These I found scattered across the road, and down an adjoining field mixed with sandy deposit. All this must have occurred immediately after the "cloud burst," and probably the flood disappeared with equal rapidity. This fully explains what I know has occurred several times—the sweeping away of cattle, and even whole encampments situated in a torrent-bed, suddenly flooded by a thunder storm in the hills.

While I was at the "Samaritan's Inn" a few drops of rain fell, accompanied by heavy thunder; on proceeding on my journey I soon found that a violent downpour had occurred between the inn and Jericho. I passed numbers of donkeys and camels and men soaked through. At the point where the path turns off the carriage road to the little monastery in *Wâdy Kelt* I saw a magnificent and most unusual sight. On the opposite side of the *wâdy* the water was descending at one point in an unbroken column for perhaps 250 feet into a pool, and thence flowing across the path which here traverses the *wâdy*, and descending in a series of cascades to the bottom. The volume of water was enormous. My *mukarrî*, who has spent much of his life on this road, says he has never seen such a sight. On my return on Saturday not a drop of water was to be seen there. Those who have seen these *wâdies*, as is the rule, quite dry, often wonder at the evident signs of torrential force (great rocks thrown about, banks cut away or undermined, deep channels cut in the solid rock), and are tempted to think it the work of a past age, when the rainfall was much greater, but such violent action as occurs after these sudden storms does more in a few hours than many years of the quiet even action of a steady, flowing stream.

BURIAL AND BURNING.

By Colonel C. R. CONDER, LL.D., R.E.

THE discovery of the burnt bodies in the cistern at Gezer has raised questions as to the disposal of the dead, which may be illustrated by Babylonian discoveries. Not only were all the Semitic peoples apparently always accustomed to bury the body, but the non-Semitic Akkadian race were so also. It is, in fact, only among Aryans, whether in Europe or in Asia, that burning as a regular custom seems to have prevailed, and even many Aryan tribes were exclusively burying peoples. Even to-day the Moslem reproaches the Hindu as the "son of a burnt father." Babylonia is full of tombs of both its races, and the bas-relief at Tell Loh represents the building of a mound over the dead, and is accompanied by Akkadian texts. It would seem that to burn the bodies of enemies was considered a revenge by Semitic peoples. Mr. Macalister has kindly undertaken to study the question I have asked him, as to whether the burnt people at Gezer may not have been Egyptians. If so, they may have been murdered and burnt when the natives revolted against Egyptian rule. Enemies and captives were also (like children) burnt as human sacrifices by the ancients generally.

In illustration of the fact that the non-Semitic races of West Asia buried the dead, attention may be drawn to two Akkadian tablets, translated into Assyrian, which have lately been published. The Akkadians, like the ancients generally, were much afraid of ghosts, and propitiated the manes with offerings and libations. Like the Egyptians, they believed the "water of life" to be given to the pious dead, in the underworld, by the gods; and they even spoke (or at least the Babylonians did so) of Nebo as "giving life to the dead." Food offerings, and objects supposed to be useful to the dead, are as common in their tombs as in those of early Semitic and Aryan peoples in other countries. These facts explain the meaning of the texts in question.

(1) An extract from one of the Akkadian litanies (given by M. A. Boissier in the *Proceedings* of the Biblical Archaeological Society, January, 1903, p. 24) refers to "the ghost of a man drowned in the sea from a ship, or of a man not buried, or of a

man having no one to visit him (*i.e.*, his tomb), or of one with no place consecrated by charms, or of one without a libation, or of one whose name is not had in remembrance."

(2) Another difficult text (discussed by Dr. T. G. Pinches in the same *Proceedings*, May, 1901, p. 205) appears to read as follows, the first part being rendered difficult by being broken away :—

"Spell for the spirit of a man who is slain . . . to earth . . . the spirit of the ghost . . . the one that is sent back. The place is void : the pit is void : the (underworld ?) is void. It is void for the ghost that is sent back. Like a tree cut down, it bends its neck to earth. Ea saw this man. One put food at his head. Food for the body was placed. The prayer for life was prayed for him. O ghost, thou art a child of thy God. May the food placed at thy head—food for the body—expiate. May thy evil pass away. Live thou. Let thy foot go forth in the land of life. O ghost, thou art a child of thy God. The eye for evil watches thee. The eye for sin watches thee . . . may the God of the tomb smite with the rod . . . may the God *Gunuru* (perhaps 'of the narrow abode') bind with the great cord . . . as the rain that falls from heaven on earth may Ea, king of the abyss, take away from thy body . . . End of charm. Incantation to protect men from the spirit of a ghost."

The ghost is laid by offerings at the tomb, and prayed for, that it may be happy in the underworld to which it is to return.

FOREIGN PUBLICATIONS.

Revue Biblique, vol. xi, part 4.—Macridy Bey commences a report, with numerous illustrations, on the excavations which he has been carrying out, for the Imperial Ottoman Museum at Constantinople, in the temple of Eshmun, built near Sidon by Bodashtart, the grandson of Eshmunazar, and king of Sidon. The temple stood on rapidly falling ground, at a place now known as Bostân esh-Sheikh, "garden of the Sheikh," which lies south-east of the bridge by which the Sidon-Beirût road crosses the Nahr 'Auwalli. Thus far the excavations have brought to light the walls of an exactly oriented rectangular enclosure, measuring about 197 feet east and west, and about 144½ feet north and south—the usual plan of the Semitic *hieron* or *harâm* within which the *naos* or temple is built. During the excavations Macridy Bey turned up many fragments of

statuary and some small Phœnician inscriptions, but his most important find thus far has been several inscriptions of Bodashtart, which were obtained from the wall, and, with the exception of small variations, are identical. These inscriptions are not cut on the faces of the stones, but on the sides, so that when the wall was built they were completely concealed in the joints of the masonry. This arrangement, which preserved the inscriptions from mutilation by a successor or usurper, has been compared by M. Berger with the Assyro-Chaldean custom of burying bricks bearing the name of the royal builder in the body of a structure. The inscriptions are sharply cut, and coloured bright red.

Father Lagrange, in a notice accompanied by photographic reproductions of the inscriptions, comments upon the form and probable age of the Phœnician letters in the text, and offers tentative translations. There are two views as to the date of the text. Father Lagrange and M. Berger place the Eshmunazar dynasty in the Persian period, before Alexander; whilst M. Clermont-Ganneau maintains (*R.A.O.*, vol. v, § 41) that it flourished under the Ptolemies, and that the builder of the temple, Bodashtart, was the grandson of Eshmunazar I, whom he identifies with the prince replaced by Alexander on the throne of his fathers. The exact interpretation of the inscriptions is doubtful. M. Clermont-Ganneau considers the words which follow "The King Bodashtart, King of the Sidonians, grandson of the King Eshmunazar, King of the Sidonians," to be chiefly place-names, and in this view he is supported by Professor Torrey, late director of the American School at Jerusalem. M. Berger and Father Lagrange, on the other hand, believe them to be principally mythological titles connected with Sidon. M. Clermont-Ganneau holds that the temple with the inscriptions is not the same as that erected to Eshmun at Shammin Addirim (?) by Eshmunazar II and his mother. He also suggests that the Nahr 'Auwalî is the river Asclepius, and not, as usually supposed, the Bostrenus; and that the temple was dedicated to "Eshmun, Lord of Kadesh," whose worship had been introduced into Sidon, and whose original sanctuary was Kadesh of 'Ain Yiddal—a place situated in the neighbouring mountains.

Fathers Janssen and Savignac publish several new *Nabatæan inscriptions* from Petra and other places, and Father Vincent supplies notes on the German excavations at Ba'albek, with a drawing of the altar discovered beneath the floor of the church erected between 377-380 A.D.; on the tombs with frescoes at Marisa (Maresha); on a second inscription in mosaic, found in the "holy place," now ascertained to be the Church of the Apostles, at Medeba (*see Quarterly Statement*, 1902, p. 415); on the slab representing the spies with the grapes of Eshcol (*see Quarterly Statement*, 1903, p. 83); and on a small silver handle of delicate workmanship for a mirror or fan which bears the legend $\text{Κύριον ἔχω· Θὲς μὲ, κλέπτει!}$ "I have an owner; leave me alone, thief!"

Revue Biblique, vol. xii, part 1.—Macridy Bey continues his report on the temple of Bodashtart, giving illustrations of several of the smaller

finds, and discussing the influence of Egyptian art on the pottery, which has striking analogies with that of Cyprus. M. Clermont-Ganneau writes on Palmyrene monuments; and Frère Jaussen, in a continuation of his paper on Arab customs, gives an interesting account of a fight between the Haweifât and the Sarârât. F. Jaussen also describes in detail the rarely-travelled route from 'Akabah to Ma'ân, which was that followed, probably, by the Israelites when they turned the flank of Edom. The journey occupied $26\frac{3}{4}$ hours, and the ascent of Nakb Eshtâr to the desert plateau proved to be fairly easy for loaded camels. Amongst the points deserving notice are the remains of an old masonry dam and two groups of Roman milestones with illegible inscriptions in W. Ithm; the fine spring, 'Ain Kuheirah, half way to Ma'ân, with reservoirs once guarded by a castle; and a spring, 'Ain Abal-leisan, on the plateau $6\frac{3}{4}$ hours from Ma'ân, which runs off in a small stream.

Near Petra the travellers discovered the ruins of the mediæval fortress el-Wa'irah still bearing its old name. The remains are insignificant, but the masonry of the towers and of the apse of a small church leaves no doubt with regard to its Frank origin. It was probably built by the Crusaders after the foundation of Shobek in 1115 A.D.

Recueil d'Archéologie Orientale, vol. v, part 18.—M. Clermont-Ganneau concludes his paper on the mouth of the Jordan (*Quarterly Statement*, 1903, p. 94), and writes on Palmyrene monuments and a Greek inscription from Dor, and commences a note on the era of Tyre.

Zeitschrift d. deut. Pal.-vereins, vol. xxv, parts 3 and 4.—Contains an important paper by Dr. Schumacher on Jerash (Gerasa), which is accompanied by an excellent plan of the whole site, with sections, panoramic views, a plan of the great Temple of the Sun, numerous illustrations from photographs, and small plans and architectural details. Dr. Schumacher describes the site, now partly occupied by a Circassian village with 1,500 to 1,600 inhabitants, and the various monuments, temples, theatres, streets, baths, churches, naumachia, tombs, &c., within and without the city walls. There are also a discussion by G. Gatt on the position of the hills mentioned by Josephus in his description of Jerusalem; and an article by Dr. Benzinger on the ruins at 'Anwâs, described by Father Barnabé in his interesting book on the site (*see Quarterly Statement*, 1902, p. 414).

Le Prétoire de Pilate et la Forteresse Antonia, by P. Barnabé, O.F.M.—This is an argument in favour of the view that the Antonia, which was situated at the north-west corner of the Harâm esh-Sherif, was the Prætorium of Pilate, and that the Via Dolorosa, and the sites shown in connection with it, have been rightly identified. Father Barnabé has brought together a large amount of literary and other information bearing upon the much-disputed question of the position of the Prætorium, and makes skilful use of it. He cannot be held to have proved his case, but what he says is of interest, and his book contains much that is

highly suggestive. His last chapter gives a description of certain details brought to light by the Franciscans during their clearance of the ground near the Church of the Flagellation. Father Barnabé considers that the Antonia was constructed on the model of a Roman praetorian camp with permanent barracks; that the Ecce Homo Arch was its principal entrance; and that the palace of the Procurator stood upon the rock now occupied by the Turkish barracks. He draws the line of the *second wall* of the city to the north of the street leading to St. Stephen's Gate, so as to include St. Anne's Church, part of Bezetha, and the Antonia at which Josephus distinctly states the wall ended.

Deux Hypogées Macédo-Sidonien à Beit-Djibrin, by R. P. Lagrange. — This paper, communicated by Father Lagrange to the French Academy, describes the tombs found near Beit Jibrin, and their frescoes, and comments on the inscriptions, which include one that gives the name of the place Marisa (Mareshah), and indicates the presence of a colony of Sidonians in the town. A monograph on these important tombs is being prepared for the Fund by the Rev. Dr. Peters and Professor Dr. Thiersch, and will, it is hoped, be ready for publication in the autumn.

Die Orangengärten von Jaffa, by A. Aaronsohn and Dr. S. Soskin; printed in pamphlet form from the *Tropenpflanzer*, the organ of the German Colonial Industrial Committee.—The pamphlet deals very fully with the cultivation of the orange, lemon, and citron at Jaffa, and with the export trade in oranges, &c. The writers are of opinion that European capital can be profitably invested in making new orange gardens in the vicinity of Jaffa. C. W. W.

Ichnographie Locorum et Monumentorum Veterum Terre Sanctæ: accurate delineate et descriptæ, à P. Elzeario Horn, Ordinis Minorum, Provinciæ Thuringiæ (1725-44). *E Codice Vaticano Latino, No. 9,233: exerpssit, adnotavit et edidit* P. Hieronymus Golubovich, Ordinis Minorum Missionarius Apostolicus Terræ Sanctæ (Romæ: Typis Sallustianis, 1902).

The Committee have gratefully to acknowledge the gift of a work of considerable value presented to the Palestine Exploration Fund by its learned editor, P. Hieronymus Golubovich. This is a very carefully edited transcript of excerpts from a MS. now in the Vatican Library (Codex No. 9,233), which gives a most minutely careful and exact description of the holy places of Jerusalem, and particularly of the Church of the Holy Sepulchre, during the period 1725-44—*i.e.*, before its destruction by fire in 1808—and practically as it had stood from the time of its rebuilding by the Crusaders, with the subsequent restoration of the "Tomb" itself in 1555 by Boniface of Ragusa. The MS. in question was also the work of a Minorite, P. Elzearius Horn, of the Province of Thuringia, who seems to have been born about 1690; to have been approved as "preacher and confessor" in 1716, and to have arrived in Jerusalem in 1724. He remained in the Holy Land until his death at

Acre in 1744; and during a great part of that 20 years seems to have had this record in progress. He must have possessed very considerable proficiency as a draughtsman, and his illustrations are executed with a scrupulous exactitude of detail which gives them unusual value, for every detail is "referenced" to the description—75 of these drawings are given in facsimile in the work before us. In the valuable preface of 60 pages, our "editor" summarises first the works of other brothers of his Order illustrating the Holy Land, from the thirteenth to the eighteenth century, and gives a sketch of the little that is known of the life of Fr. Elzearius Horn, and the history of his book. He then gives a detailed description of the MS. and of its condition (stating that many of the drawings and maps have vanished), and quotes contemporary descriptions of the conflagration of 1808 and the subsequent restorations. He also adds notes of the actual condition of the rock tomb.

In this edition of the work itself (Horn's) the value is much enhanced by the facsimile reproduction of the original drawings, and by the fact that such full reference is made to them by numbers. Taking, *e.g.*, the two representations (pp. 22, 23) of the Holy Sepulchre itself (from North and South), every column, every panel, every lamp is numbered and described; and it is evident that in the drawings themselves the very joints of the marble have been faithfully drawn. The plan of the church (p. 37) is a careful bit of architectural surveying; and in the two elevations of the interior of the rotunda (pp. 44–45) care has been taken to give references to the chief details. The view of the exterior (p. 66) is also in most respects exact; but the arches of the great double doorway are shown round, instead of pointed—a form of inaccuracy extraordinarily common in the eighteenth century, when the ideals of architecture were entirely "classic."

Besides the minute account of this church, there are descriptions of the Dome of the Rock, the Via Crucis, the Tomb of the Kings, and other places about the Holy City. A full description and several illustrations are given of the church at Nazareth. The appendix also contains an interesting plan of the Franciscan Convent in Jerusalem, of which our author, Horn, was a brother, with descriptions of its various departments, as the library, the pharmacy, &c.

Following this there are some curious details concerning the bubonic plague—its symptoms, various remedies, and antidotes. Among the latter one is surprised to find still recommended, in the eighteenth century, the dust of a pounded toad wrapped in silk, to be worn about the neck—by no means the nastiest of the suggested preservatives.

The whole book, both editors' preface, and the original work of Horn, is in Latin, but of a very simple and direct composition. It has in its present form been evidently a work of love to the editor; and not only members of the Palestine Exploration Fund, but all those who share their interest in the Holy Land, will be grateful to him for the scrupulous pains and care with which he has prepared it for publication.

J. D. C.

NOTES AND QUERIES.

Hebrew Inscription at Fik.—The small Hebrew inscription at Fik, referred to in the *Quarterly Statement*, 1902, January, p. 26, is here reproduced through the courtesy of Professor George Adam Smith from his article in the "Critical Review," 1892, pp. 55 *seq.* It is figured upon a small basalt column, underneath the conventional seven-branched candlestick.

אֵנָה יְהוּדָה חֲדָאֵנָה

As Professor Clermont-Ganneau has pointed out to the present writer (in a private communication), the last three characters, like the first three, are doubtless to be read אֵנָה. The inscription would accordingly run:—

אֵנָה יְהוּדָה הֵּ (אֵנָה ?).
 "I am Jehudah, the (am) I."

It is very difficult to make anything of the doubtful letter. On the assumption that it is imperfect, it is conceivable that the character should be read ת (*i.e.*, הֵתֵאֵנָה, "the fig tree"¹), or better, ק or צ. In the latter eventuality it might be conjectured that הֵצִי or הֵקִי are abbreviations respectively of הַצְדִּיק, "the righteous," or הַקְדוֹשׁ, "the holy," But all this is pure conjecture.

As regards the paleography, we need only note that the turn given to the lower part of the צ² approximates to the ligature found in the inscription of the Benê H̄ezîr (Mount of Olives). The slightly diverging forms of the הֵ do not altogether form an insurmountable difficulty in the reading proposed.

Finally, as regards the translation, the objection has been raised that in a Hebrew inscription אֲנִי would have been expected for the pronoun "I" in place of the Jewish-Aramaic form אֵנָה. This criticism would, of course, hold good if it were certain that pure Hebrew was spoken in the Jaulân in, let us say, the second century of the Christian era. But when we find Aramaisms in the Mishnic Hebrew of the same period, and later in the Samaritan

¹ See below, note 7, p. 186.

² The *nûn* in the first word resembles that in the last more closely than appears in the above reproduction.

dialect,¹ the translation adopted above will, I think, appear perfectly defensible. Besides, it is of course not unlikely that the inscription is really Jewish-Aramaic. At all events, it is not easy to see what other plausible rendering could be ascribed to the word אנה. A derivation from the Hebrew אנה, "to lament," has, indeed, been suggested, but this, like the Palmyrene חבל "alas!" is to be expected only upon a funereal inscription.

The seven-branched candlestick which is figured above this little inscription is too familiar a motive in Jewish art to need comment. We may, however, note that the branches are not necessarily curved, and that the artist will often allow himself considerable latitude in his representations.² Occasionally, too, the candlestick has nine branches, though this seems to be quite exceptional.³ This motive can scarcely be severed from that of the palm tree, which is found varying from the plainest outline (*e.g.*, *Quarterly Statement*, 1893, p. 217, *cf.* p. 216) to the more artistic designs, such as that found by Schumacher at er-Rumsanîych.⁴ In fact, it may perhaps be laid down as a rule that the candlestick and sacred tree inevitably tend to merge into one another,⁵ and the present writer has elsewhere suggested that the idea of the famous temple candlestick was derived in the first instance from the sacred seven-branched tree of Assyria and Babylonia.⁶ In addition to the evidence there adduced, we may point to the parallel between the candelabrum, with its lights, and the custom of hanging lamps upon the sacred tree, and it is worth noting that the arms of the candlestick instead of ending in a straight line, as is usually the case, are occasionally represented as tapering off, thus presenting to some extent a faithful outline of a tree.⁷

S. A. COOK, M.A.

¹ Thus, to give an example bearing upon the question at issue, the pronoun of the first person in Samaritan has the four forms אנה, אני (Heb.), אנה, אנא (Aram.).

² Compare, *e.g.*, Schumacher, "The Jaulân," p. 115, Fig. 23.

³ Compare *op. cit.*, p. 71, Fig. 7; p. 116, Fig. 27.

⁴ *Op. cit.*, p. 234, Fig. 123; p. 235, Fig. 125 (both nine-branched); Madden "Coins," p. 71, *cf. also* *Quarterly Statement*, 1900, p. 113.

⁵ Compare Robertson Smith, "Religion of the Semites," 2nd ed., p. 488.

⁶ "Encyclopædia Biblica," Art. "Candlestick."

⁷ The fig tree, as well as the date palm, was a sacred tree. It is not proposed, however, to associate this circumstance with the conjectured reading, רהאנה, "the fig tree," in the inscription from Fik.

THE PALESTINE EXPLORATION FUND.

NOTES AND NEWS.

THE Annual General Meeting of the Palestine Exploration Fund was held in the Hall of the Royal Institution on June 22nd, the Lord Bishop of Salisbury in the chair. Between 300 and 400 were present, including Sir Charles Wilson, Walter Morrison, Rev. Arthur Carr, J. D. Crace, Canon Dalton, Joseph Pollard, Professor Hull, Viscount Sidmouth, Major-General Sir F. J. Goldsmid, Colonel A. E. W. Goldsmid, and others. The Report, having been moved by our American Hon. Secretary, Professor Theodore Wright, and seconded by Professor Hull, was carried unanimously. The following gentlemen were added to the General Committee:—The Very Rev. the Dean of Westminster, Sir John Leng, M.P., Rev. J. Hastings, D.D., G. L. Clark, Esq., Kenneth Cochrane, Esq., and William Lamplough, Esq. The Executive Committee was re-elected, with the addition of the Rev. R. F. Horton, D.D., Chairman of the Congregational Union of England and Wales. Sir Charles Wilson followed with an account of the results of the excavation now being carried on at Gezer. He opened with an answer to the question which is frequently put, How is it known that any particular object belongs to the Aboriginal, the Canaanite, the Jewish, the Greek, or the Roman period? After explaining the laws of stratification, he proceeded to illustrate them by the seven strata of Gezer. The two lowest were occupied by an aboriginal non-Semitic race, small in size, unacquainted with metals. The neo-lithic people give place to a Semitic race, of stronger build and of more advanced civilisation. Here, in the third strata, was found the now famous "high place," which was apparently altered and enlarged in the period represented by Stratum IV; under its floor were the jars containing the remains of newly-born infants. The fifth and sixth strata represent the occupation of Gezer by the Israelites. The use of iron and the

frequent lamp-and-bowl deposits under the foundations now begin to appear. Sir Charles Wilson suggested that the latter were a modification of the older pre-Israelite foundation sacrifices. At all events, these deposits completely disappear at the time of the Exile. The sixth stratum, with its royal stamps, is certainly of the age of the Monarchy; whilst in the seventh and last we have the Syro-Egyptian period, the age of the Ptolemies and Maccabees.

In proposing a vote of thanks, the Chairman dwelt on the assistance which the excavations afford to the better understanding of the Bible, and most heartily commended the report to his listeners. The Treasurer then moved a vote of thanks to Mr. R. A. S. Macalister, and to the resident contributors in Palestine, whose observations derived from first-hand sources are a prominent feature in the *Quarterly Statement*, and to the local Hon. Secretaries. Dr. Theodore Wright responded. Mr. Crace proposed a vote of thanks to the managers of the Royal Institution for kindly granting the use of the Lecture Theatre, and the proceedings terminated with a vote of thanks to the Chairman, proposed by Sir Charles Wilson and seconded by Col. Watson.

Owing to want of space a fuller account of the General Meeting must be held over until the next number of the *Quarterly Statement*, when we hope to resume Mr. Baldensperger's interesting series of studies of life in the East, which has been unavoidably crowded out from the present issue. Attention was duly called at the meeting to the fact that the Palestine Exploration Fund is entirely supported by voluntary contributions, and the Committee are extremely anxious to do all that can be done within the length of time at their disposal to finish the excavation of the site which they have chosen, and which, as time has proved, has yielded the most remarkable results. To the sum of £205 5s. recorded in the list of special donations in the last number, there are to be added: Herbert Dalton, Esq., £15; G. J. Clarke, Esq., Peter Mackinnon, Esq., £10 each; Messrs. A. and C. Black, £5 5s.; Kenneth Cochrane, Esq., S. Melville-Bergheim, Esq., James Melrose, Esq., Lieut.-Colonel Granville R. F. Smith, and Rev. E. L. Adams, £5 each; smaller donations under £5 (details will be recorded in the Annual Report), £4 3s. The total, £274 13s., is still a long way from the £2,000 so urgently required.

In the present number of the *Quarterly Statement* we print the fourth of Mr. Macalister's reports of the excavation of Gezer. The results continue to be of exceptional interest. Numerous weights have been unearthed which are of great value for the investigation of Semitic weights and measures. The pottery deposits are extremely rich, and a saucer bearing a group of legible, but almost unintelligible characters, will provide food for students of Hebrew epigraphy. Curious figures of the goddess Ashtoreth have come to light, and the Egyptian objects are still numerous. Our knowledge of the Temple of Gezer has been increased in the most welcome manner, and the traces of infant sacrifice apparently connected with the widespread custom of foundation-rites will not escape the notice of those who are interested in the study of folk-lore. Mr. Macalister concludes with a brief retrospect of the year's work, which, as he points out, only represents about one-eighth of the amount of information which is to be gleaned from this ancient site by trenching alone. With the invaluable results which the year has brought, the increased light that has been thrown with such vividness upon the Old Testament, the rapidly-growing store of knowledge which the Fund's excavations in Gezer are collecting and bringing to bear upon the archaeology of the East, we have every reason to be satisfied, and the need becomes ever more urgent to pursue the excavations on a larger scale in order that the ruins of Gezer may be forced to give up all their secrets before the expiration of the firman. It would be a thousand pities for the work to be incomplete, and unless the Fund is in a position to increase the number of labourers—which means a proportionate increase of the expense—it will be impossible to carry on the excavations with the necessary thoroughness and expedition within the allotted time.

No one can foresee all the surprises that may be in store. Since going to press Mr. Macalister has written to announce that he has discovered another cave of bones which promises to be richer even than the last. Fresh discoveries of the lamp and bowl deposits have been made. Under the foundation of a house-wall a jar was found on its side, containing *two* infants—the first time that two have been found—and above it were two saucers, one of which contained two others. Behind stood two upright jars each with one handle, and two lamps, one inside the other. These pottery groups are the most perplexing features of the excavations, and Mr. Macalister

feels that he has not yet arrived at their true meaning. Another cave has been opened up with a series of 15 magnificent jars and dishes ranged round the wall for no apparent purpose.

Further, a block of limestone was turned up, inscribed with Greek, which appears to have belonged to a votive offering dedicated to Heracles by Eunêlos, son of Iôn, in acknowledgment of some victory. The writing is of the same style as the recently-discovered ossuary of Nicanor of Alexandria, and with this it agrees that the stone in question, to judge from the buildings where it was found, belongs to the last three centuries before the Christian era. A full account of the "find," with reproductions of the inscription will, it is hoped, reach us shortly, and will be published in the October number of the *Quarterly Statement*. But the present information is a sufficient illustration of the archæological wealth which lies hidden under the *tells* of Gezer, and only strengthens the conviction that more prolonged and thorough labours will render the *complete* excavation of Gezer one of the most important of all recent contributions to our knowledge of ancient Palestine.

Dr. Masterman writes that there was a sharp earthquake shock at Jerusalem at 12.45 a.m., on March 30th, and that there were less severe shocks at Beirût and Gaza. The centre of the disturbance was in the Jordan Valley, or further east. Very little damage was done at Jerusalem, but in villages near the city some mud and stone houses were thrown down. A native story was current that the level of the Dead Sea had been greatly lowered by the earthquake. This story, which found its way into some of the English papers, proved to be untrue. The latest observation, taken for the Fund by Mr. C. Hornstein, shows that the level of the water rose $6\frac{1}{2}$ inches between March 23rd and May 13th.

Mr. Hanauer, whose interesting article in the present number on the ancient harbour of Jaffa should not pass unnoticed, writes to record some curious "finds." From the Gaza district a bronze *oscillum* of Bacchus crowned with ivy, grapes, and vine-leaves, and horned: "insignis cornu." From the excavations for the erection of the Anglican Church and College of St. George-the-Martyr, a portion of white mosaic and a leaden funerary jar or urn, full of human ashes, calcined bones, and pieces of charcoal. The jar,

Mr. Hanauer learns, was apparently made by hand, and was placed in a cubical cavity in the rock and was covered with a stone slab. Further, a three-handled metal vessel with traces of silvering and gilding, possibly originally a censer or a hanging lamp. In the course of the work carried on by Dr. Merrill at Neby Daūd a great charnel-house was discovered; with every skeleton there were three roughly made nails of iron. It is supposed that these were to indicate that the deceased were Christians. A deep cistern was also laid bare in which were skeletons seated round the walls. Whether they were intentionally placed in that position, or, having taken refuge there for some reason, died of starvation, is quite uncertain. A number of earthenware lamps of the common almond-shaped kind were also found, also some fragments of sculptured stone, chiefly with the egg and dart pattern.

The *Geological Magazine* for November, 1902, contains an interesting paper by the Rev. Professor T. G. Bonney, F.R.S., &c., on "The Basalt of the Moabite Stone," a small fragment of which was brought home by the late Professor Palmer in 1870. "The rock apparently is in good preservation; minutely granular, nearly black in colour, but proving on a closer examination to be speckled with more than one dark mineral, and with less definite greyish spots, all very small." Its specific gravity is 2·89. A slice, "when examined under the microscope, exhibits a porphyritic structure, though on a small scale." The minerals are:—Augite, not abundant; olivine, rather abundant; iron-oxide (hematite, or perhaps ilmenite); plagioclasic felspar; and calcite, apparently an original constituent.

The prospects of an exceptionally good harvest in Palestine this year are increasing every day. The only danger seems to be the possible appearance of locusts. Wheat, barley, durra, grass, vegetables, fruit trees—oranges, figs, apricots—and vines are in a condition which justifies the highest expectations.

The observations kindly made for the Fund, at Jaffa, by the Rev. J. Jamal, show that the rainfall at that place during the last rainy season (October, 1902, to April, 1903) amounted to 28·05 inches. Rain fell on 54 days, and the largest monthly rainfall, 6·7 inches, was in January, 1903.

Mr. A. M. Luncz, of Jerusalem, well known as an ardent student of Palestinian lore, is planning a new and critical edition of the Jerusalem Talmud, which, as all Hebraists are aware, is sadly needed. For this purpose all available MSS. will be thoroughly collated, and the text will be accompanied by all necessary notes. It is proposed to add indexes of (*a*) personal, (*b*) place, and (*c*) botanical and zoological names—a list of Old Testament references, and a general subject index, in our opinion are extremely desirable. Fuller information may be obtained from Dr. Friedländer, of Jews' College, Guilford Street, W.C., or from Mr. Luncz himself, Tuchband's Hotel, Houndsditch, E.C. All who are interested in Palestine must wish success both to this new scheme, which will help to make that great store-house of early Jewish learning more easily accessible, and to the indefatigable editor, whose labours are carried on under the greatest of sufferings—blindness.

With reference to the Egyptian stele found by Mr. Macalister at Gezer (*see Quarterly Statement*, January, p. 37), Professor Petrie writes to point out that it is the usual type of formula of the twelfth and thirteenth dynasty, for a citizen (*ankh-en-nuf*), Amen-ludu. The style of the figure would agree well with this date.

Mr. Macalister's two reports on the excavations at Gezer have been reprinted from the *Quarterly Statement* in pamphlet form, and can be obtained on application to the Acting Secretary, price 1s. 2d. post free.

The Museum and Library of the Palestine Exploration Fund at Jerusalem have been removed from the room opposite to the Tower of David to the Bishop's Buildings, near the Tombs of the Kings, where the use of a room has been kindly permitted by the Rev. Dr. Blyth, Bishop in Jerusalem and the East. The Museum is open daily, except Sundays, and the Honorary Secretary, Dr. D'Erf Wheeler, will give all information necessary.

The "Flora of Syria, Palestine, and Sinai," by the Rev. George E. Post, M.D., Beirût, Syria, containing descriptions of all the Phaenogams and Acrogens of the region, and illustrated by 441 woodcuts, may be had at the office of the Fund, price 21s.

The income of the Society from March 23rd, 1903, to June 23rd, 1903, was—from Annual Subscriptions and Donations, including Local Societies, £263 19s. 2d.; from Lectures, £32 10s. 6d.; from sales of publications, &c., £156 16s. 8d.; total, £453 6s. 4d. The expenditure during the same period was £520 7s. 4d. On June 23rd the balance in the Bank was £357 6s. 10d.

Subscribers to the Fund are reminded that, whilst the receipt of every subscription and contribution is promptly acknowledged by the Acting Secretary, they will henceforth be published annually, and not quarterly. A complete List of Subscribers and Subscriptions for 1902 will be published in due course in a separate form.

Subscribers in U.S.A. to the work of the Fund will please note that they can procure copies of any of the publications from the Rev. Professor Theo. F. Wright, Honorary General Secretary to the Fund, 42 Quincy Street, Cambridge, Mass.

The Committee will be glad to communicate with ladies and gentlemen willing to help the Fund as Honorary Secretaries. The following gentlemen have kindly consented to act:—Rev. J. R. Craigie, 173, Macdonnell Avenue, Toronto; H. W. Price, Esq., Cambridge, Waikato, New Zealand; and Rev. R. M. Linton Smith, St. Nicholas Rectory, Colchester.

Subscribers will please note that they can still obtain a set of the "Survey of Palestine," in four volumes, for £7 7s., but the price has been increased to the public to £9 9s. The price of single volumes to the public has also been increased. Applications should be made to the Acting Secretary.

The price of a complete set of the translations published by the Palestine Pilgrims' Text Society, in 13 volumes, with general index, bound in cloth, is £10 10s. A catalogue describing the contents of each volume can be had on application to the Secretary, 38 Conduit Street.

The Museum at the office of the Fund, 38 Conduit Street (a few doors from Bond Street), is open to visitors every week-day from 10 o'clock till 5, except Saturdays, when it is closed at 2 p.m.

It may be well to mention that plans and photographs alluded to in the reports from Jerusalem and elsewhere cannot all be published, but all are preserved in the office of the Fund, where they may be seen by subscribers.

Photographs of the late Dr. Schick's models (1) of the Temple of Solomon, (2) of the Herodian Temple, (3) of the Haram Area during the Christian occupation of Jerusalem, and (4) of the Haram Area as it is at present, have been received at the office of the Fund. Sets of these four photographs, with an explanation by Dr. Schick, can be purchased by applying to the Secretary, 38 Conduit Street, W.

Branch Associations of the Bible Society, all Sunday Schools within the Sunday School Institute, the Sunday School Union, and the Wesleyan Sunday School Institute, will please observe that by a special Resolution of the Committee they will henceforth be treated as subscribers and be allowed to purchase the books and maps (by application only to the Secretary) at reduced price.

The Committee will be glad to receive donations of Books to the Library of the Fund, which already contains many works of great value relating to Palestine and other Bible Lands. A catalogue of Books in the Library will be found in the July *Quarterly Statement*, 1893.

The Committee acknowledge with thanks the following :—

"The Life and Letters of Sir George Grove, C.B." From the Author, Charles L. Graves.

"The Service for the Consecration of a Church and Altar according to the Coptic Rite." From the Bishop of Salisbury, edited by the Rev. G. Horner.

"Al-Mashrik : Revue Catholique Orientale Bimensuelle."

"Recueil d'Archéologie Orientale." Tome V, Livraisons 16-19. From the Author, Professor Clermont-Ganneau, M.I. § 39. Fiches et Notules (suite) : Chartimas, patrie de Didon ; Benê Marzeha ; Confréries religieuses carthaginoises ; La Cène ; La fête phénicienne du Marzeah ; Barad ou Deber. § 40. Inscriptions grecques de Sidon et environs. § 41. Les inscriptions phéniciennes du Temple d'Echmoun à Sidon. § 42. Où était l'embouchure du Jourdain à l'époque de Josué (pl. VI). § 43. Monuments palmyréniens. § 44. Inscription grecque de Dora. § 46. Fiches et Notules : L'ère de Tyr ; La date de la mosaïque de Nebi Younés ; Inscription de Deir Sen'an ; Sahouet (El-Khidhr) ; Θεὸς Ἀρεμθηνός et Ἀραμτᾶ. § 47. Inscriptions grecques du Pont. § 48. Fiches et Notules : La "Terre de Reseph" ; Chamim Roumim et Chanim Addirim ; Sofsaf et Ménagadem. § 49. Inscription gréco-palmyrénienne d'Égypte.

Whilst desiring to give publicity to proposed identifications and other theories advanced by officers of the Fund and contributors to the pages of the *Quarterly Statement*, the Committee wish it to be distinctly understood that by publishing them in the *Quarterly Statement* they neither sanction nor adopt them.

FOURTH QUARTERLY REPORT OF THE EXCAVATION
OF GEZER.(1 *March*—15 *May*, 1903.)

By R. A. STEWART MACALISTER, M.A., F.S.A.

§ I.—GENERAL SUMMARY OF THE QUARTER'S WORK.

THE excavation has advanced steadily since the last report was forwarded. No whole day, and only two or three half days, have been lost to the work owing to weather ; and owing to other causes the number of days lost has been just four—one at the Muslim feast of Bairam, two at Easter, and one spent in transferring the camp from winter quarters at the foot of the mound to summer quarters at the top. Attention has been concentrated on the 80-foot trench west of the Temple alignment, which had been commenced shortly before the third report was despatched.

The results have been of a fair average character, and some of them will, I trust, prove of considerable importance. Comparatively few additions—fewer than I had hoped—have been made to the scheme of the Temple buildings. The developments have been of quite an unexpected character. The tell has proved as fruitful as ever in objects, many of them of great interest.

Inscriptions, however, save pottery stamps, still fail to appear.

A great area, 160 feet wide and nearly 300 feet long, with the alignment of monoliths in its centre, has now been uncovered. It is probable that this is the whole extent of the High Place. I intend cutting one more trench, 40 feet wide, along the eastern side of this area, after which I propose continuing the investigation of the Eastern Hill, interrupted last September for the purpose of examining the Temple.

§ II.—STONE OBJECTS.

Flint.—A magnificent flint axehead, oval in shape, 7 inches long, and $4\frac{2}{3}$ inches broad, was found in the lowest stratum. One side is smooth and is covered with a thin calcareous deposit—a common feature of axeheads of this type. The flake has been struck from the parent core by a single blow ; afterwards the bulb

of percussion has been trimmed down—probably for convenience of hafting—by knocking two small flakes off it, and a slight chipping round the edge has brought the weapon to its final shape.

Another weapon of the same class, but incomparably inferior, is interesting for having an *aleph* of the old Hebrew alphabet scratched on the calcareous surface (Fig. 1). This probably was a maker's or owner's initial.

The same letter has been found, marked with the finger-nail, or with a small stick, upon two or three jar-handles, and a *nun* in the same alphabet has been found on a piece of polished bone. These letters show that some of the Gezerites were acquainted with the

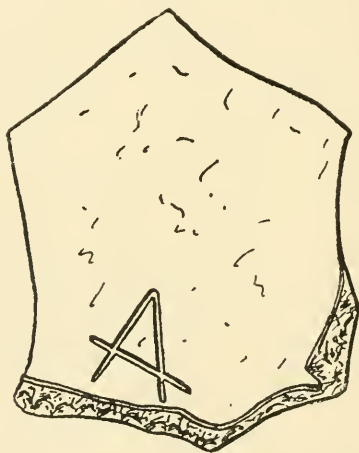


FIG. 1.—Axehead with Inscribed Letter.

art of writing, and makes the continued absence of inscriptions the more disappointing. This marked flint came from the later Jewish stratum.

Several long narrow flint flaked knives have been found, but only one really fine specimen, and even this is broken at the ends. Its present length is $8\frac{1}{2}$ inches.

Celts.—A few celts of polished basalt and similar stones have been found, principally in the lower strata. One of these had a conical depression on each face, probably in some way connected with the hafting of the implement.

Weights.—A great harvest of weights of rough black and grey stone have been recovered from all strata of the mound. A record

is being kept of the weights of these, and it will be tabulated in the final report. The stones are almost always pounder-shaped, conical or cylindrical, with a flat base. None bear any discriminating mark of quantity. Some of the larger specimens might be pestles or pounders, for which purpose they are equally well adapted. However, when their weights are written out in numerical order they are found to fall into groups which seem to indicate some system of metrology, though the range of variation within the groups shows that the weights are very inexact.

In the present report it is unnecessary to give further details about these rough weights. But the amounts of a very interesting series of small weights in basalt, found in a group, may be recorded. They were discovered in the earliest Jewish stratum, associated with a jar containing a dish and some burnt grain, and with a few small nondescript fragments of bronze and five or six water-worn pebbles of agate and chalcedony. They are eight in number—the half of a ninth, which had been broken, was also found—all but one torpedo-shaped, beautifully turned and finished, with a flat base and ends cut square. The one exception is dome-shaped, like those inscribed *nešeph*, but is less regularly formed than they. The weights (in grammes) are :—

| | | | |
|------------|------------|------------|-----------|
| (a) 92·65. | (c) 19·16. | (e) 13·05. | (g) 5·25. |
| (b) 44·92. | (d) 13·43. | (f) 5·78. | (h) 3·80. |

The dome-shaped weight being (*f*). In connection with this series may be mentioned a similar weight of 8·68 grammes, and another of 12·36, found elsewhere in the trench.

I must leave to the specialists in Oriental weights and measures the task of completely fitting these weights in their proper places in Semitic metrology. I need only record the guess that the 8·68, though rather light, is to be equated to the weights marked *nešeph*, and is thus half a shekel; it is, however, more like the Babylonian gold shekel of 8·41 grammes. On the former hypothesis (*f*) and (*g*) would both be meant for quarter-shekels, (*d*) and (*e*) for three-quarter shekels—the 12·36 is probably meant to be a similar amount, and judging from the size and shape of the remaining fragment, the broken weight found in the board was also similar—(*e*) would be the shekel, (*b*) two and a half shekels, (*a*) five shekels. A fair margin, not, I think, excessive, is left in the above scheme for Semitic inaccuracy.

It is curious that such carefully finished weights should have no intelligible marks of quantity upon them. One, (*g*), has an oblique stroke crossing the flat base, and another, (*h*), a stroke running part of the way along the major axis of the base, which is of course elliptical. The base of the 8·68 has a cross marked upon it dividing it into four equal portions. The symbols for the quarters used in modern Arabic accounts may be compared: / for $\frac{1}{4}$ (it will be noticed that the weight with this mark I have already suggested to be a quarter shekel), < for $\frac{1}{2}$, § for $\frac{3}{4}$.

Roller.—In the Seleneid stratum was found a cylindrical, or rather slightly barrel-shaped, roller, of limestone. Its length is 1 foot 8 inches, its diameter at the ends 9 inches, the central diameter being a little more. At each end is a shallow depression for the pivots. Such rollers are still used for flattening the mud roofs of houses, and probably this example had a similar purpose; from which we may infer that the house-roofs of Gezer were probably constructed in like manner to the coverings of modern Palestinian dwellings.

Alabaster.—Several fragments of alabaster vessels have been found in the excavations. The only new form worth mentioning

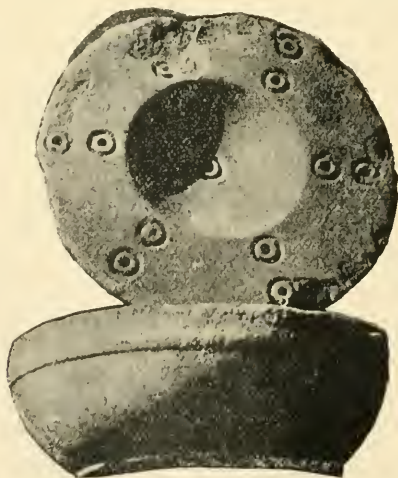


FIG. 2.—Alabaster Saucers.

has been the fragment of a Bügelkanne (a flask with a stirrup-shaped handle at the top, and orifice at the side). One or two

perfect examples, and several portions of the curious saucers with narrow, hemispherical depressions and broad rims, presenting an interesting variety of linear ornament, have also been found (Fig. 2).

Graffito.—The only other object calling for special notice in this section is a small tablet of limestone, $3\frac{1}{4}$ inches long, $1\frac{1}{4}$ to 2 inches broad, and $\frac{3}{4}$ inch thick. It comes from the latest Jewish stratum. Upon it is engraved a puerile representation—injured by the loss of a chip in the lower right-hand corner—of a man and two goats. On the other face are two short parallel horizontal strokes. The whole is evidently a plaything, and its chief importance is as a demonstration of the low state of Gezerite art.

§ III. —BRONZE AND IRON OBJECTS.

For later sections, connected with the Temple and its worship, are reserved the descriptions of two bronze objects of especial interest.

A general principle has been noticed which probably will be found to be universal in Palestine: that from the commencement of the Iron age, the dominant metal is used for agricultural instruments, whilst bronze is retained for weapons and for personal adornments. Thus we find sickles and hoes of iron, arrowheads, knives, daggers, bracelets, brooches, pins, and needles of bronze. The principal exception to this rule is the use of iron for arrowheads, characteristic of the Maccabean stratum—though by no means to the exclusion of bronze—and the occasional discovery of small finger and other rings of iron at all depths above the stratum in which iron first makes its appearance. Nails are also made, almost exclusively, of iron.

Arrowheads.—Some modifications must now be introduced into the description of arrowheads contained in my first report. Cylindrical tangs are no longer unknown, though they are rare. Besides the normal type in which a large number of varieties (not necessary to specify here) occur, four other species have been found, namely:—

(1) Barbed arrowheads: one specimen only, from the Seleucid stratum. It is unique in Gezer, and the type is rare in Palestine. If my memory be not deceiving me, only one specimen was found in the Shephêlah excavations, and that from the Seleucid city

at Tell Sandahannah (B.M., Plate LXXIX, Fig. 2). The type was probably quite unknown before the captivity in Palestine.

(2) Three-winged arrowheads: occasionally found in the Seleucid stratum.

(3) Pyramidal arrowheads: one example, in iron, from the Seleucid stratum.

(4) Thick arrowheads: these are also found—not infrequently—in the Seleucid stratum. The majority of arrowheads are thin discs of the required dimensions and shape: in this type the thickness is practically equal to the breadth. The pyramidal arrowhead, just mentioned, is a specialisation of this type, the tang being adapted for insertion in a slender stem.

A brick mould for casting arrowheads of the ordinary flat leaf-shaped type was found in the lowest stratum.

Knife-blades and *spearheads* are found in fair numbers—the latter always in bronze, the former principally so, though a few are found in iron. The iron examples are all broken and corroded, the tips only being preserved. The majority of the bronze specimens have a short tang. One well-made specimen, flanged for hafting, was found in a cistern. Unfortunately it fell to pieces from corrosion soon after it was unearthed.

Pins and Needles.—I have nothing at present to add to the classification already given (*Quarterly Statement*, 1902, pp. 327–329). An interesting little needle-case was found in one of the lower strata. It was made of the cylindrical shank-bone of some animal. One end of the tube was stopped with a clay button, the other was broken. A slender bronze needle still remaining inside the tube showed what its use had been.

Chisels or Punches.—Several examples, consisting of square bars of bronze brought at one end to a chisel point, and one with the edge expanding slightly beyond the shaft, may be worth a passing reference. A minute example of the former type, about 2 inches long, is probably an awl.

Twiceers.—A very good example of this species of domestic instrument, with the back bent into a spring, was brought to light.

Suction Tube (?).—A long straight bronze tube, 1 foot 10 inches long and $\frac{1}{2}$ inch diameter, was found in the chamber of a house of the sixth stratum, associated with a large collection of heavy wine jars. The chief objection to regarding this as a tube for drinking

the wine by suction is that the ends are stopped by the bronze being folded over the end of the bore. This, however, might have been from an accident that spoilt the tube. I am otherwise at a loss to explain this object.

Hafts and Sockets.—An example already recorded (*Quarterly Statement*, 1902, p. 330) shows that bronze awls were set in a bone handle. Several other examples of this, as well as of horn hafts, for the same class of instruments have been found.

It has already been remarked in previous reports that socketed bronze implements of all kinds are rare in Palestine: the normal method of fastening a bronze head to a wooden handle is by means of a tang on the metal let into a hole bored in the wood. The only socketed objects that have been found during the quarter have been two *ox-goats*, and a fine double-edged *axehead* (Fig. 3). The axehead

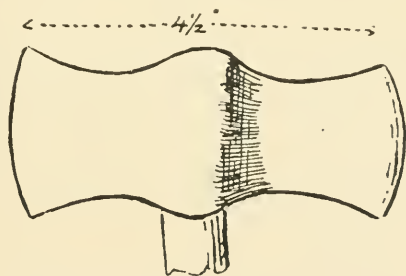


FIG. 3.—Socketed Double-edged Axehead.

and one of the *ox-goats* still retained a fragment of the wooden haft.

§ IV.—GOLD, SILVER, AND BEADS.

Gold.—I have to chronicle three ear-rings of elementary design, a small and shapeless piece of gold wire, and fragments of a curious string of gold beads (with some of carnelian) strung on a silver wire. The latter were found in the lowest stratum, as was also a small gold pendant crescent. The ear-rings and the pendant are shown in Fig. 4; the weights of the former are noted with their representations.

Silver.—In this metal the principal “find” was four bracelets, rusted together, but easily separated. Three are heavy bars of silver, ornamented at the ends with lines, bent into a loop: the fourth is of finer wire looped and closed by interlacing the ends.

A lozenge-shaped bead of silver is strung on the wire. Associated with these bracelets was a buckle, probably some kind of dress-fastener: it was so distorted that I failed to make out how it was constructed. Apparently it consisted essentially of two plates each with looped tails which were meant to be interlaced and secured by a rivet running through them—exactly as in an ordinary hinge.

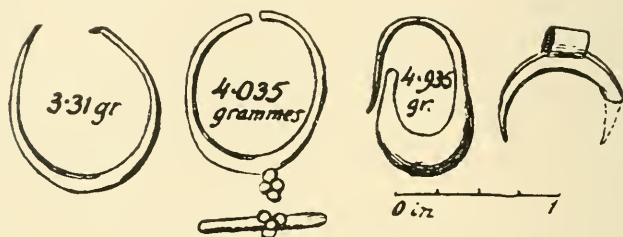


FIG. 4.—Gold Ear-rings and Pendant.

Beads.—Very large numbers of beads, singly and in groups, have been found. An interesting variety of types, materials, and colours is presented: it is, however, impossible to describe them adequately without the aid of tinted plates, which I am preparing, and hope to have ready for the final memoir. I shall content myself with indicating, by bald lists, the number of different kinds of beads that might be catalogued:—

(a) *Shapes.*—Flat disc, circular, and oval; spherical; spheroidal, oblate, and prolate; barrel-shaped; cylindrical; bottle-shaped pendants, with or without flat backs; double conical; multiple of various types—*e.g.*, two or three or more cylindrical tubes side by side, representing a number of cylindrical beads, or a single cylindrical tube divided by incised rings to represent a chain of smaller beads, or double or triple spheres, &c.

(b) *Materials.*—Gold, jasper, agate, chalcedony, carnelian, opal, amethyst, diorite, basalt, glass, mother-of-pearl, flint, paste covered with enamel coloured white, green, red, yellow, or blue, &c.

That these beads, or some of them, were not always merely ornamental, but had some kind of prophylactic or curative value, is not only intrinsically probable, but is also indicated by the estimation in which such objects are held by the fellahin. Red beads of carnelian or jasper are considered by them to have important medical properties, spherical beads of the colour named being valuable for ophthalmic troubles, and pendants, like the bottle-

shaped types of the eighteenth Egyptian dynasty, being sovereign remedies for certain kidney disorders. Indeed, a carnelian pendant about an inch in length, club-shaped, with a hole drilled through the narrower end, which was picked up by the foreman of the works last year, before the excavation commenced, and by him shown to a fellah, was by the latter valued at no less a sum than two napoleons solely on account of its healing virtues. Blue beads, as is well known, are worn by almost every man, woman, child, and domestic animal in the country to ward off the evil eye. Stones of blue, with red veins shot through them, are worn in rings on the finger; they are of use as styptics in case of excessive and unstaunchable nose-bleeding. The stone is smelt and then pressed in the middle of the forehead, whereupon the flow of blood ceases.

I have ventured on this digression not only because the facts it contains are interesting in themselves, but because it is necessary to refer from time to time to modern beliefs among people of similar race and on much the same general level of culture to understand fully the discoveries made on an ancient site.

§ V.—COLOURS AND CLOTH.

A small but interesting collection of cakes of colouring materials and enamels has been made. When occasion offers I hope to have samples of these chemically analysed, after which I shall be in a position to say more about them. They were probably used for painting on pottery or for similar purposes. Perhaps the most remarkable is a large flat rectangular cake of cobalt or some similar blue, showing on one side evident traces of having been rubbed with a brush.

A quantity of a light green powder is especially interesting on account of the receptacle in which it is preserved. It is a small cloth bag—so far as I know the only fragment of cloth that has come down to us from the late Amorite or early Jewish epoch. Some specimens of Egyptian mummy-wrappings were analysed by my father in a paper read before the Anthropological Institute about eight or ten years ago: not having a copy of the paper by me I am unable at present to refer to it more particularly, or to say how the Palestinian compares with the average Egyptian cloth in point of fineness. The Palestinian specimen

has 14 threads to the warp and 26 to the woof in each square centimetre.

§ VI.—POTTERY.

Stamped and Marked Jar-handles.—The archæological wealth of Gezer as compared with such a site as Tell ej-Judeideh is very great: this being so, its relative poverty in stamped jar-handles is difficult to explain. I may be permitted to assure my readers that every jar-handle found is sorted out and cleaned, so the absence of stamps is not to be accounted for by their being overlooked in excavation.

It is true, handles stamped with impressions from scarabs appear to be a specialty of the lower strata of Gezer. I do not think that more than half a dozen examples in all have been



FIG. 5.—Fragment of Pottery with Hebrew Stamp.

recovered from the five other mounds opened by the Fund. At Gezer at least 50 have been found during the year. Unfortunately none of these bear intelligible writing, and the designs of a large proportion are not traceable owing to bad stamping, wear, fracture, or similar causes.

No further handles with the stamps of private potters have come to light. Such a stamp, however, was found impressed on a small fragment of a saucer (Fig. 5). So far as I can make out the inscription, which is worn and imperfect, reads בְּנֵי רֵי [בְּנֵי רֵי?], but no such names occur in the Hebrew scriptures.¹

A small number of specimens of the Royal stamps have been found—all imperfect, and adding nothing to our knowledge of that perplexing subject. The stamp of Ziph was found (for the first time at Gezer) during the last quarter. The enigmatical

¹ [See below, p. 275.]

Memshath has not yet put in an appearance, nor has any new town yet been found.

Jar-handles with Greek stamps, principally Rhodian, are still found from time to time within the uppermost stratum. None have been found on the surface for several months; apparently all that were lying exposed have now been collected. The final report will contain the readings of the inscriptions.

Lamp and Bowl Groups.—These mysterious deposits are found from time to time within the limits of date laid down in a previous

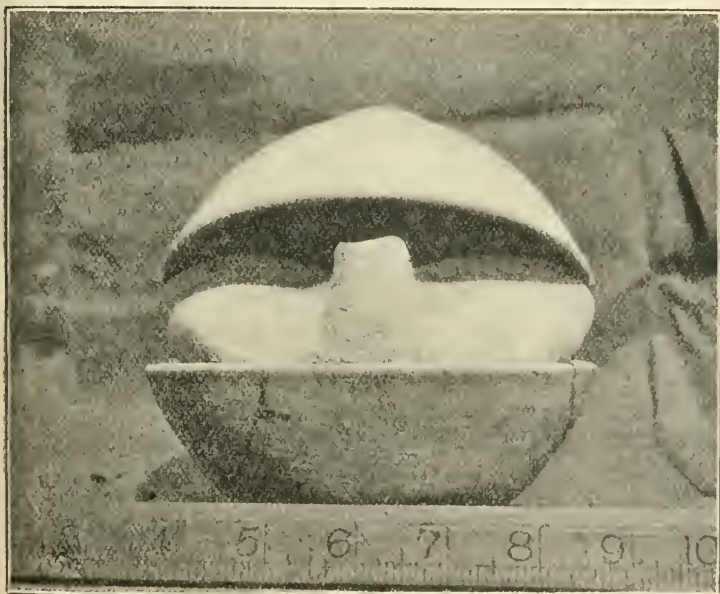
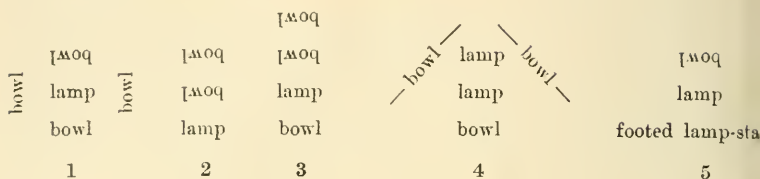


FIG. 6.—Normal Lamp and Bowl Group.

report. The variety of their arrangement is almost as perplexing as their fundamental purpose—for I need hardly say that the explanation suggested in my second report (*ante*, p. 11) was merely a guess thrown out by the way. Some of these varieties can most concisely be represented by typographical diagrams. Thus, the normal arrangement (Fig. 6) is—

lmoq
lamp
bowl

but we also get such arrangements as—



The fifth only in the very latest examples. There are other arrangements which might be cited, but the above will suffice to

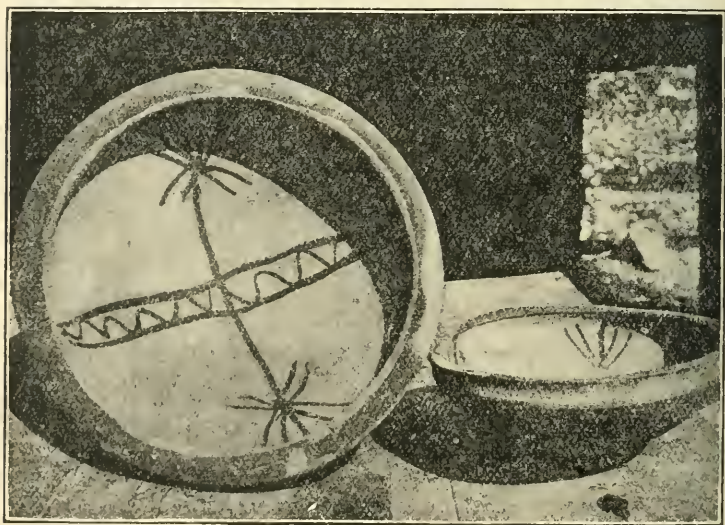


FIG. 7.—Coloured Bowls from a Lamp and Bowl Group.

show that the exact order of the vessels was a matter of small importance.

Nothing has been found in any of the groups except fine earth, save in one case, where there was an admixture of wood ashes.

Though in the majority of instances the pottery is crushed and broken—probably by the weight of the stones built above it—the impression I have received from its examination is that the pieces deposited were as a general rule new, and specially provided for the occasion. I forward a photograph (Fig. 7) of two bowls found in a group of the normal type, which will illustrate the fine

character of the pottery often used in the rite. The painting is dark Indian red on a yellowish wash. The diameter of the larger bowl is $10\frac{1}{4}$ inches.

Painted Ware.—Further study of the sherds of painted ware unearthed from time to time convinces me that the type called ‘late pre-Israelite’ in B.M., and figured in Plates 36–42 of that work, are rather to be referred to the period of the Jewish monarchy; and that the peculiar and very diverse technique, which in a previous report I temporarily named the “Gezer-Lachish style”—from the places where it is found most abundantly—is in reality the style to be associated with the pre-Israelite races.

Primitive Types.—Another cistern yielded interesting results. It had evidently been closed during or soon after the earliest period of occupation on the tell. Without exception all of the many potsherds that came from it were of the rude type associated with the troglodyte dwellings and with the cremated remains in the burial cave. Two especially remarkable vessels were found in this cistern, one a bowl which has had two loop handles in the middle of the concave surface. Small broken fragments of this surely very inconvenient type of utensil had previously come to light, but no specimen from which a complete restoration could be deduced. Another, a double cup, roughly hand-moulded, is coarse red ware. There is a hole between the two cups just under the rim.

Animal Figures.—Nearly every day small animal figures of common-place type, or fragments of such figures, are unearthed. Some of these I have already illustrated in previous reports. Among them are others of less frequently found type, whose interest is greater, such as the two curious vases found (like so many of the more interesting objects) in a cistern. They are jugs, with the ordinary spouted mouths, adapted to an animal form. Each has, or had, a loop handle on the back; in one of the specimens there is a hole in the back for filling the vessel.

Human Figures.—Specimens of the terra-cotta plaques with figures of Ashtoreth in low relief continue to be found. They are invariably broken—a suggestive fact when it is remembered that they are fairly thick and tough. It can hardly be an accident that no perfect specimens are found. Nor can we consider their universal destruction as a monument of some outburst of Puritanic zeal, for certainly many specimens of these small and easily-hidden objects would have escaped such an inquisition. Rather must we

infer, I think, that some rite in the worship of Ashtaroth involved the fracture of these images. The subject is difficult, but some such explanation seems necessary to account for the condition in which all, even the smallest, of these plaques are found.

I may also mention a statuette with pointed chin, round disc eyes, and sharp, slightly raised shoulders, which, though very rude, seems not to be older than the Maccabæan period; a specimen of the Cypriote bird-like head, and a sherd with a grotesque female figure embossed upon it.

Miscellaneous Objects.—A few interesting fragments may be referred to. Such are (1) a sherd with a kind of draught-board pattern scratched upon it; (2) a curious disc with an ornament, to me inexplicable, scratched on it; and (3) two filters, one a cylindrical vase, the other a flat thick tray with conical holes. Of these fragments only were found.

§ VII.—HUMAN REMAINS.

Several skulls and collections of bones have been found at various levels; I hope later to be in a position to give further particulars about them. Probably the most interesting was a skull found in the cistern already mentioned as having been closed in the earliest period. The rest of the bones were all broken, and part of the skull itself was shattered by an unlucky stroke of the workman's pick, but it is the most perfect skull of the primitive inhabitants yet found. Its cephalic index is about 73·2, which agrees with the general estimate of the average cephalic index of the bones in the burial cave. The bone of the skull is less thick than the average of skulls of the period.

§ VIII.—BONE OBJECTS.

The most interesting object in bone has been a portion of a large shank-bone of a cow (Fig. 8) bearing upon it a winged figure carved in relief. Only the lower part of the figure survives; enough remains to indicate the obvious Assyrian character of the whole. It is from the upper Jewish stratum.

An adze head of horn is also remarkable (Fig. 9); it is difficult to imagine for what purpose it was made. The horn is sharpened to a blunt edge, and a hexagonal hole for hafting is cut through it. The instrument is probably of Jewish date, having been found in the cistern which yielded so many fragments of painted Jewish

ware, already mentioned. Possibly it was intended for quarrying the soft clunch limestone of the district; we know that horn picks

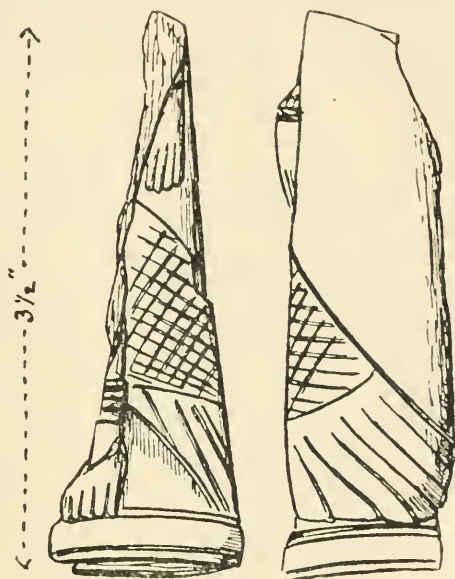


FIG. 8.—Carved Bone Figure

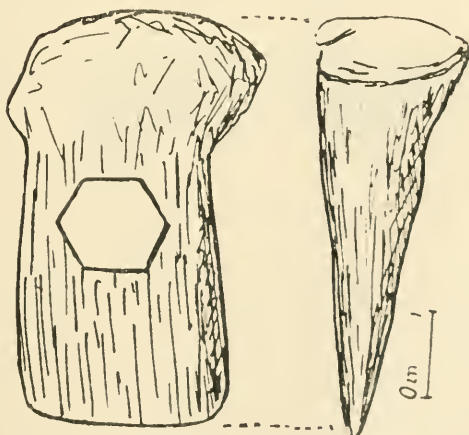


FIG. 9.—Horn Adze.

were used for such purposes, even in the remote period of the neolithic flint works at Grime's Graves, near Brandon, in Suffolk.

The circular object (Fig. 10) found in fragments in a cistern is quite inexplicable. The central portion—that shaded in the figure—was alone recovered: fragments, it is true, of the outer part were found but could not be fitted together. The central portion is sunk, and contains nine holes, arranged in a cross: it is bounded

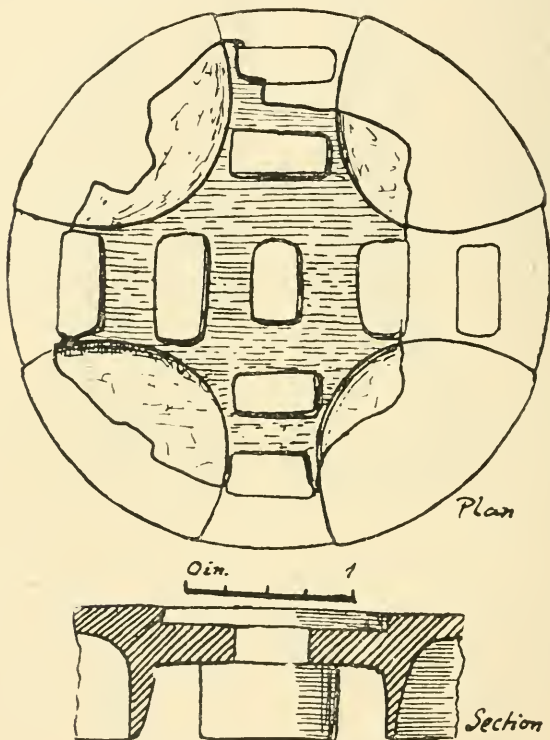



FIG. 10.—Bone Object of Unknown Use.

by four raised semi-circular discs, which are prolonged downward as curved feet, on which the object stands. I am not sure that the original shape was circular, nor how the end was finished off.

§ IX.—FOREIGN OBJECTS.

Objects of Egyptian provenance have been very plentiful during the quarter. *Scarabs* have been found in profusion, and there have been a considerable number of small amulets of various types.

The scarabs, of which there are 24, can be most conveniently described in tabular form (below). The most important will be found illustrated on Plate II.

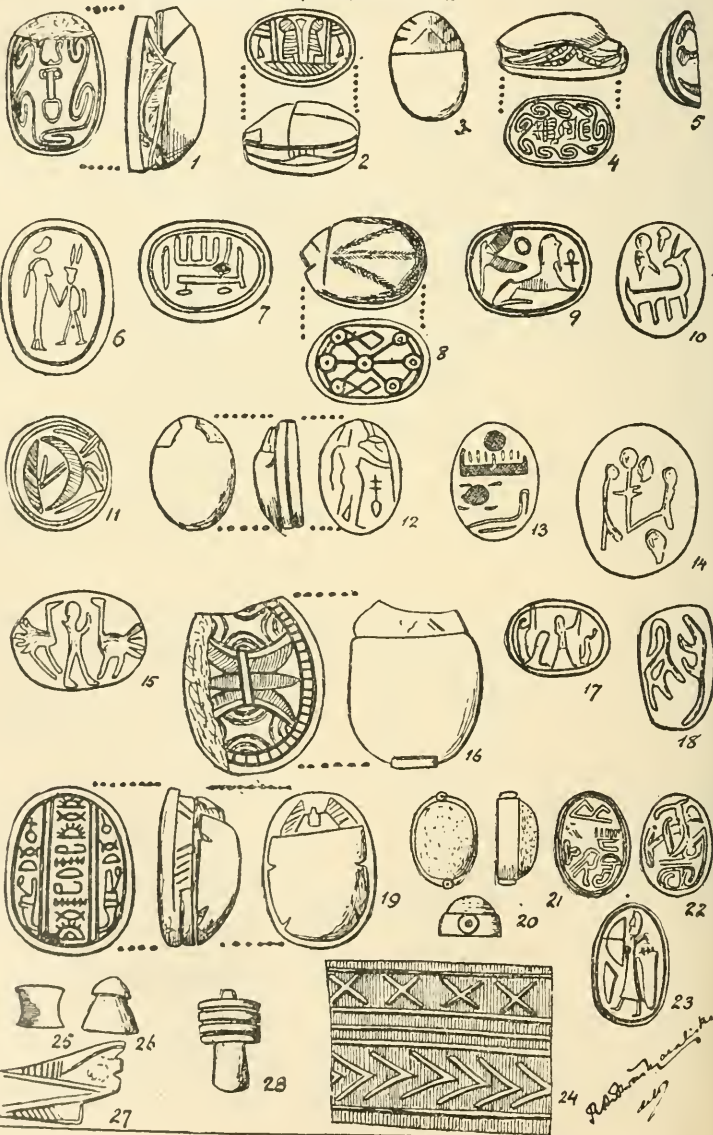
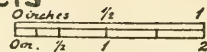
| No. | Fig. on Pl. II. | Stratum. | Material. | Device, &c. |
|-----|-----------------|-----------|------------------------|--|
| 1 | 1 | III | Steatite | <i>Nfr</i> ("good") surrounded by a chain of spirals. |
| 2 | 2 | Above III | Steatite | <i>Maat</i> -feathers and lotos-flower. |
| 3 | 3 | Above III | Jade | No device. |
| 4 | 4 | IV | Steatite | Imitation lettering inside spirals. |
| 5 | 6 | IV | Agate | Two figures, male and female. |
| 6 | — | IV | Amethyst | No device. |
| 7 | — | IV | Jade | No device. |
| 8 | 7 | IV | White enamelled paste. | Name of <i>Amen</i> . |
| 9 | 5 | Above IV | Green enamelled paste. | Broken and unintelligible. |
| 10 | 8 | Above IV | White enamelled paste. | Geometrical device. |
| 11 | 9 | V | Steatite | Winged figure, lioness, and ' <i>nh</i> ' ("life"). |
| 12 | 10 | V | Jasper | Scaraboid with deer and two letters on it. |
| 13 | 11 | Above V | Bone | Flat dome-shaped scaraboid with geometrical pattern. |
| 14 | — | Above V | Slate | Faint, scratched letters, apparently  , "Lord of the underworld." |
| 15 | 13 | Above V | Green enamelled paste. | Scarab, with <i>Mn kpr R'</i> [<i>stp</i> !] upon it; probably a copy of a scarab of Tahutimes III. The inscription might also be the first four characters of the ring of Piankhi II, and his date (594 B.C.) might fairly well fit the stratum. |
| 16 | 12 | VI | Steatite | Figure with <i>nfr</i> ("good"). |
| 17 | — | VI | Amethyst | No device. |
| 18 | 14 | VI | Basalt | Rude scaraboid with three figures. |
| 19 | 15 | VI | Basalt | Scaraboid; a man between two ostriches. |
| 20 | 16 | VI | Limestone | Geometrical pattern. |
| 21 | 17 | VI | White enamelled paste. | Scaraboid; two figures bearing <i>hk</i> (?) and uræus. |
| 22 | 18 | Above VI | Green enamel | Crocodile and other figure. The scarab has been distorted by fire. |
| 23 | 19 | Cistern | Steatite | Imitation lettering in three columns. |
| 24 | 20 | Cistern | Diorite | No device. Gold mounting surrounding the stone. |

EXCAVATION OF CEZER

EGYPTIAN OBJECTS

for Figs. 1-24, 28

for figs. 25-27



On the other hand, jar-handles with scarab-seals have been less frequent this quarter than previously. Only three have been found with the stamps at all decipherable; they are represented on Plate II, Figs. 21-23. The first was found in a cistern, the other two in the fourth stratum. The first two bear imitation lettering and geometrical patterns, the third the figure of an archer.

Only one *cylinder* was unearthed during the quarter. The development of its device will be found on Plate II, Fig. 24; it has a simple geometrical pattern. The material is paste, covered with green enamel.

The two small objects, Plate II, Figs. 25, 26, in green enamelled paste, are draughtmen. The first was found close to the rock, the second near the surface. Other draughtmen of pottery, probably local manufacture, are frequent; they resemble in shape the men used in playing the modern game of "halma," but are larger. It is strange that not a single fragment of a draughtboard, such as were so common on the Shephêlah tells, has yet come to light.

Of amulets the commonest, as usual, is the *wd'* or divine eye, found at all depths. The ordinary type, of which some five or six examples have been found during the period covered by the present report, does not call for illustration: one example in blue glass, found above the fourth stratum, is figured (Plate II, Fig. 27) because it is of unusual type, at least in Palestine. Both sides of this object are similarly marked. Plate II, Fig. 28, represents a figure of the *dd* (Dad) amulet, from the sixth stratum. I may also notice a small green enamelled figure of a seated jackal, with a loop at the back for suspension, from the fifth stratum, as well as a specimen of the type of grotesque glass head shown in BM., p. 42, Fig. 19. The Gezer example had unfortunately been melted in fire, and so distorted; it was, however, recognisable by its colour and general outline.

In Fig. 11 is represented three aspects of a double female statuette—no doubt Isis and Nepthys—the two figures being back to back. This is from the fifth stratum. The headless, footless torsos of several other small human figures were found from time to time, as well as (in a cistern) a beautiful little female head, pierced for suspension through the ears. All of these objects were of paste, covered with the usual bluish-green enamel. A ushabti of olive-green was found. It is small, uninscribed, and has a flat back. The feet are broken off.

A few statuettes and heads of the god Bes, as well as a clay mould for casting the faces of this grotesque divinity—demonstrating that not all such representations were imported from Egypt—complete the present record of Egyptian objects.

Ægean.—Several, but not many, small sherds of pottery with the characteristic *Ægean* glaze have been found during the past three months.

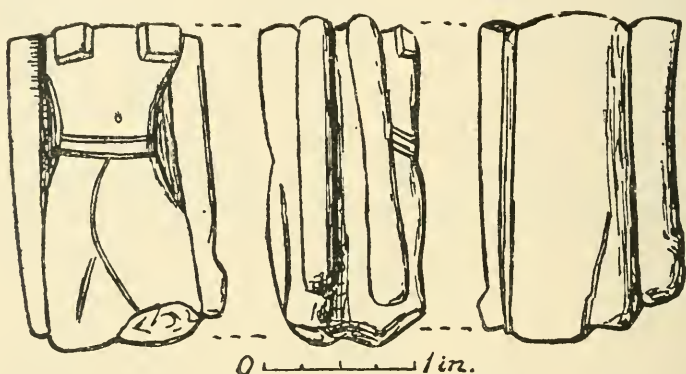


FIG. 11.—Statuette of Isis and Nephthys.

§ X.—MASONRY.

For the suggestion that led to the inclusion of this and the following section I am indebted to Sir Charles Wilson. I may remark that I am always glad to receive suggestions and queries regarding the work, and to notice them, if of general interest, in these reports.

A full discussion of the types of masonry presented by the various buildings of the tell must be reserved for the final memoir; it will there be possible to illustrate the various patterns by means of a set of specially-taken photographs of representative walls. At present I shall content myself with describing the character of the building in a few of the structures that have been uncovered.

Primitive Amorite City Wall.—An earth bank, faced with small stones—the dimensions nowhere more than 10 inches or 1 foot, not dressed except by spalling with a hammer, and set in hard, compact mud. The joints are not filled with smaller stones.

Second Wall.—Large, irregular hammer-trimmed stones, ranging from 1 foot 7 inches to 2 feet in length and height, roughly chipped

to shape. Joints very wide and nearly all packed with smaller stones.


Third Wall.—Masonry similar to the last, but the stones less roughly brought to shape. Joints wide (narrower than in second wall), and where necessary packed with limestone chippings. 1 foot 6 inches is a frequent dimension. Vertical joints running through two or three courses frequent. The coursing is not quite regular. A few stones perhaps show marks of a pocking-tool, but the majority have been subjected to no dressing but that of the hammer. There are some corner-stones in a tower, however, which show marks of a 2-inch chisel. These stones are of large size; one of them measures 4 feet 10 inches in length, 1 foot 4 inches in breadth, 1 foot 7 inches in height.

Solomonic Additions to Third Wall.—The coursing is less random than in the original wall; the stones used are longer and shallower (2 feet long by 1 foot high, or approximately so, is a common dimension). The mud with which the joints are filled is more homogeneous, and shows fewer limestone chippings. There are some stones which possibly display marks of a chisel, but I am inclined to doubt this. In the square tower at the north-east corner (*see* the previous report) the corner-stones are well-cut, squared blocks, with drafted faces, having a projecting boss in the centre. This square tower is, on the whole, the best example of building yet found in the early part of the tell. The dimensions of the stones may be illustrated by the measurements of one of these—3 feet 6 inches by 2 feet by 1 foot 9 inches. They are dressed with a $\frac{3}{4}$ -inch chisel. The rest of the tower is rather rough rubble.

Wall of Bacchides.—The towers of this wall show the peculiarity of having every large stone carefully packed round with smaller chips—like the “galleting” of English masons. This characteristic has not been found elsewhere on the tell.

House Walls.—One description will suffice for all periods. They consist of common field stones, among which dressed stones—even at corners and doorposts—are of the rarest possible occurrence. The joints are wide and irregular, and filled with mud packed in the widest places with smaller stones. If anything, the older walls are possibly built of smaller stones than those belonging to later strata, but no definite rule can be laid down. A common dimension is about 1 foot 6 inches.

Late Surface Building on Eastern Hill containing a Bath.—A rubble construction of large irregular stones—one measures 3 feet by 2 feet, and this is not exceptional—not squared in any way except by spalling with a hammer. The southern wall is better built than the northern, the stones being long and comparatively flat (one measures 4 feet 2 inches by 1 foot 6 inches). The bath itself is naturally better built, the stones being well squared with a $\frac{3}{4}$ -inch chisel held obliquely, making “saw-tooth” cuts, and neatly fitted together. These stones are covered with thick cement.

Large Well on Eastern Hill.—The stones of the well-shaft are dressed and squared; at the moment of writing they are inaccessible, but when work recommences on the Eastern Hill I shall be able to descend and obtain particulars about their dimensions and the method of dressing employed. There was a building over this well which had fallen into ruin; its stones were found in clearing out the well-shaft. They were squared and drafted with projecting bosses, the final dressing being given with a gouge-shaped chisel $\frac{3}{8}$ inch across. On the draft of one of these occurred the only mason’s mark noticed on the tell; it is . (The horizontal stroke measures $2\frac{1}{2}$ inches, the vertical strokes 3 inches and $4\frac{1}{4}$ inches respectively.)

Brick.—Brick is rare; occasional house-walls are built of it, but these are exceptional. There are two long parallel walls of brick south-west of the Temple. An example of brickwork at the south end of the trench on the Eastern Hill is remarkable for being built in alternate courses of red and white bricks—the red courses being 4 inches in height, the white 5 inches. The length of the bricks is irregular, ranging from about 1 foot to 1 foot 6 inches.

§ XI.—A HISTORICAL PROBLEM.

The problem to be considered in this section may be stated thus:—“In the valley that runs round the foot of the hill, at the east, is the copious spring called ‘Ain Yerdeh, which yields a full supply of water in the driest summer. Why, therefore, should the inhabitants of Gezer at an early date have abandoned the eastern part of their hill, and moved away from this important source of water, as the excavations show to have been the case?”

This question had occurred to me some time ago; as soon, indeed, as I realised what were the inferences to be drawn from the

results of the excavations relative to the history of the occupation. When stated to me independently by Sir C. Wilson, I gave it a careful reconsideration, with the results here set forth.

In the first place, 'Ain Yerdeh is not the only well in the valleys surrounding the tell. It must be remembered that intra-mural cisterns were probably the principal source of water-supply in ancient times (as in modern Jerusalem), and were certainly the only source in times of siege. But there are two other spring-wells—less copious, it is true, and inferior to 'Ain Yerdeh in the quality of the water. One of these is Bir et-Tirâsheh, at the south-west corner of the mound—just beyond the modern village; and the other is Bir el-Lusiye, due west of the mound. Bir et-Tirâsheh is the ordinary water-supply of Abu Shusheh; the water in Bir el-Lusiye is bad (it would be better were the well cleaned out), but it is used for watering flocks.

Both these wells, especially Bir et-Tirâsheh, are more easily accessible from the top of the mound than is 'Ain Yerdeh. The eastern slope of the hill is steep and rugged, the western slope much more gentle, and a projecting *col* of rock to the south-west makes the passage to Bir et-Tirâsheh very easy. The latter would therefore be the well naturally selected by persons going outside the town for water. I have no doubt that it was the attraction of Bir et-Tirâsheh that led the inhabitants to desert the hill-top for the modern site of Abu Shusheh, when it was no longer necessary to live inside a fortification. These speculations will receive confirmation or otherwise when the complete line of wall has been traced, and the water gate found. At present I can only say that there is no gate facing 'Ain Yerdeh.

In the second place it is open to doubt whether, in the time of ancient Gezer, 'Ain Yerdeh existed at all. The well-shaft does not look very ancient; but apart from this there are one or two considerations which seem to point to 'Ain Yerdeh being a spring that has opened in comparatively recent times. Close by it is a ruined site, apparently Byzantine, called Khurbet Yerdeh, so that it must have existed in the time of the village which that ruin represents: but it is possibly not much older.

A wild perversion of the story of Noah's flood was recovered by Professor Clermont-Ganneau from the villagers here, and is printed in his *Archæological Researches in Palestine*: I have heard parts of the same story from my workmen. Omitting details irrelevant

to the present argument, the story is to the effect that the waters of the flood burst forth from 'Ain et-Tannûr, another water source, now dry, situated at the south-east corner of the tell and a short distance south of 'Ain Yerdeh. It is quite possible that this legend has a historical basis: that some burst of waters actually took place, and that as recollection grew dim it was connected in the popular mind with Noah's flood.¹ Thence grew the otherwise inexplicable story that Gezer was the city of "our lord Noah"—which all my workmen firmly believe. Finally the water burst was transferred from its real scene, 'Ain Yerdeh, to the neighbouring 'Ain et-Tannûr, under the influence of the universal Muslim belief that the waters of the flood rose out of a *tannûr* or baking oven.

That the fellahîn believe in some sort of connection between 'Ain Yerdeh and 'Ain et-Tannûr is shown by their having recently protested against an attempt made by the administrator of the estate to repair and reopen the latter spring; they said that it would take all the water from 'Ain Yerdeh.

The source of the water which, on this hypothesis, burst forth at some time shortly before the Byzantine period is indicated by the great well-shaft on the top of the eastern hill, to which I have already alluded more than once in these reports. I shall be in a better position to describe it when its clearance is complete; the shaft is cylindrical, about 9 feet in diameter, and it has been opened to a depth of 40 feet; how much farther it descends cannot of course yet be stated. But it is evidently the shaft of a spring-well which has become dry. Is it too bold a hypothesis that this well once tapped some source of supply contained in the porous limestone of which the hill is formed, and that through an earthquake the strata were opened and the water ran down and burst out at the present 'Ain Yerdeh?

To sum up, the most important extra-mural source of water supply to the Gezerites was probably the easily-accessible Bîr et-Tirâshêh in the west, and not the (now superior) 'Ain Yerdeh in the east, which perhaps had no existence at the time. The westward movement of the population was therefore natural.

¹ [The name Yerdeh is suggestive (*cf.* Heb. *yārad*, to descend). Elsewhere, in this number, Professor Clermont-Ganneau alludes to the Syrian ritual *yērid*, which appears to have been associated in a vague and general way with diluvian myths (*see* below, p. 241).—ED.]

§ XII.—THE TEMPLE.

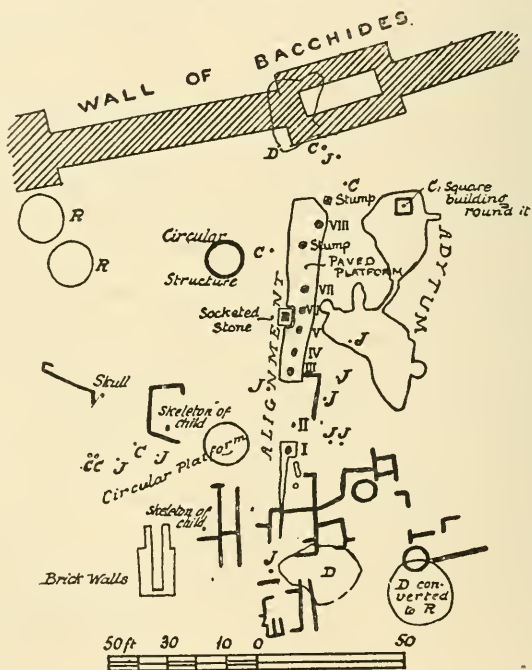
The excavation is now, I think, sufficiently far advanced for me to offer a plan of the High Place (Plate III). The alignment has already been fully described in the second report, published last January, and I have nothing new to add to that account, save one suggestion, which had not occurred to me at the time of writing, and which I now give for what it may be worth. In 1 Macc. xiii, 47, 48, is to be found a vivid description of the purification of the city¹ after its capture by Simon Maccabæus—how he “cleansed the houses wherein the idols were” and “put all uncleanness out of it.” Fortunately for us the greater part of the alignment was concealed by an accumulation of from 16 to 20 feet of débris in Simon’s time, so that he did not lay his hands on this part of the house of idols; but at the northern end the accumulation is much less, and here traces of his work are perhaps to be detected. It will be remembered that I found the shapely column with which the alignment at present ends to the north prostrate and covered with débris. On each side of it are stumps of other columns which have been broken. These would have stood nearly entirely above ground in the time of the Maccabees, and it seems not impossible that the stone which I found prostrate had already fallen, but that its two neighbours still stood and so fell a victim to Simon’s puritan zeal. As though to make this suggestion more plausible, there is a very fine stone, broken at each end, and resembling the standing stones in everything but in being squared, which was found lying on the surface among the débris of the Maccabean city. When allowance is made for the loss involved in the process of dressing, this stone would fit the more northern of the two stumps. If it really formed part of this monolith, the stone must have been comparable in size with the great pillar at the southern end of the alignment.

A circular structure will be seen indicated on the plan west of the northern end of the alignment. This unquestionably belongs to the scheme of the Temple buildings, being exactly on a level with the feet of the columns, and close by them. It is 13 feet 8 inches in diameter at the floor level, and is surrounded by a rude

¹ Following the reading of the R.V. The A.V. repeats the mistake of all the ancient authorities in placing the scene of this incident at Gaza instead of at Gazara or Gezer.

EXCAVATION OF CEZER

GROUND PLAN OF HIGH PLACE



C = Cup-mark in the Rock D = Troglodyte Dwelling
 J = Jar-buried Infant R = Reservoir for Water

wall now standing to a maximum height of 6 feet. The wall narrows from a thickness of from 1 foot 6 inches to 2 feet at the bottom to 1 foot at the top, and is built with an outward batter; the diameter at the present top of the structure is accordingly larger than at the bottom—16 feet 6 inches. The floor of the enclosure was paved with a smooth layer of stones, resembling the pavement or platform on which the monoliths are erected. I cut through this pavement to the rock in the hope of finding some deposits underneath, but without result; the rock-surface was found



FIG. 12.—Circular Structure in the Temple.

to be irregular, not cut or worked in any way, and lying at a depth of from 1 foot to 1 foot 9 inches below the pavement. The wall is of the usual rough construction—field stones, hammer-dressed, being set in mud, without any scientific attempt at coursing. It is especially to be noticed that the wall is continuous, without door, window, or other opening. A photographic view will be found in Fig. 12.

Inside the structure, among a number of potsherds of no special importance, were found many fragments of the jugs and bowls in

fine ware which Professor Petrie ascribes to a Phœnician origin the jugs characterised by crookedly set necks (*see* P. TH., Plate VII, No. 115; BM., Plate 31, No. 8; CCM., Plate II, several examples), and by painting in white lines on the dark background of the pottery; the bowls by the "wishbone" handle (P. TH., Plate VIII, No. 157; BM., Plate 31, No. 19). The number of sherds of this type of ware found was quite remarkable; it is not very common, as a general rule, on the tell. Unfortunately, all the vessels were broken into small fragments, and no exact restoration could be attempted of any single specimen; it was evident, however, that all had been good and probably, to the original owners, valuable examples of their types. With the pottery was found a small bronze model of a cobra (Fig. 13), rudely but unmistakably portrayed. This object is not only interesting in itself, but even more so on account of its possible history and analogues.

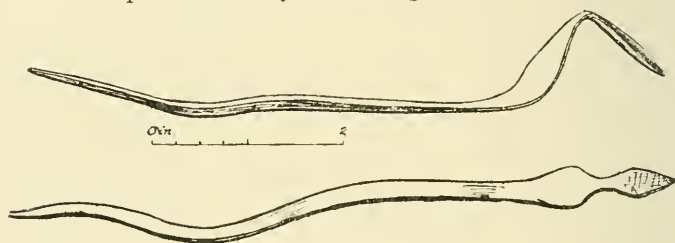


FIG. 13.—Bronze Cobra.

The discovery of a model of a serpent in connection with a place of worship is naturally suggestive of the practice of ophiolatry. For ophiolatry at Canaanite shrines I am not aware of direct evidence, but the well-known passage, 2 Kings xviii, 4, is to the point in the discussion of this object. Among the reforms of Hezekiah there described is mentioned the destruction of the brazen (*i.e.*, bronze or copper) serpent made by Moses, on account of its having become an object of worship. The question whether this worship was due to the serpent form of the object, or to its being a relic of the great lawgiver, or else to the healing virtues once inherent in it, is one into which I need not enter, the important point for my present argument being the fact that a large fetish in the form of a serpent of bronze was preserved and worshipped in the central shrine at Jerusalem, and was connected at least by popular tradition with Moses and the plague of "fiery flying serpents" (probably cobras) in the wilderness. Nothing would be

more natural than to prepare models of this venerated object for the worshippers at minor shrines throughout the country, and it is at least an admissible hypothesis that the serpent now under discussion is actually such a model.

The structure in which the serpent was found completely puzzled me, but an ingenious suggestion was made by Mr. J. Stogdon, of Harrow, when on a visit to the excavations—namely, that it was possibly a pit for keeping live serpents. The building is as suitable for such a purpose as the pits in which bears and other animals are kept in a modern zoological garden. In such a case the fine broken pottery and the bronze model might be in the nature of votive offerings. We are reminded of the practice of keeping live snakes at certain Greek shrines, notably at the temple of Æsculapius at Epidauras, where they were in some way instrumental in effecting the miracles of healing there wrought (*see Rouse, Greek Votive Offerings*, pp. 193–205; *see also* p. 209). It is not inconceivable that among the orgies or rites which were celebrated in the high places of Palestine some form of snake-charming was included, and that the snakes required for the purpose were kept in this enclosure—perhaps specially prepared poisonous serpents with the fangs extracted. The tricks of modern holy men with serpents, which, if I be not mistaken, were described by Mr. Baldensperger in the *Quarterly Statement* some years ago, may be a survival of such rites.

The foundations of another circular structure were found south of this building. Of this I can say nothing, as only the pavement remained, and no part of the walls were standing.

I have marked on the plan the places where the jar-buried bodies of infants were found. It is noteworthy that the majority of these are at the eastern side of the pillars, as also is the sacred cave. This suggests that the eastern was the more sacred side, which was not approached by the ordinary worshipper. It may be an accident, but it is at least remarkable that the stones in the alignment have all more or less fair faces to the west, the sides where the worshippers would see them, and are rough on the east side, which on this hypothesis would not be under general observation.

The uniformity with which the child-sacrifices have been found to be infants of less than a week old has been broken by two cases of children aged about six. The bones of these skeletons are much injured, and show distinct traces of fire.

While on the subject of child-sacrifice I may refer to an important series of discoveries made at the south end of the trench which has been occupying my attention during the quarter. This consists in infants' bones built under or into ordinary house-walls: some six or eight examples have been found. This phenomenon is confined to the Jewish strata, and has not as yet been found in any other part of the tell. Here we have for the first time in Palestine clear evidence of sacrifice at the foundation of a building—a practice that has been found in India, New Zealand, Borneo, Siam, Japan, Fiji, Mexico, Bosnia, Germany, Denmark, and the British Islands: witness the legend of Vortigern, who could not finish his castle till he had bathed the foundation stone in blood; and that of St. Colum Cille, who buried alive his companion Oran under the foundation of his church at Iona. Hitherto, the only Palestinian example known has been the somewhat doubtful and indefinite instance of Hiel's rebuilding of Jericho; as narrated in 1 Kings xvi, 34, the language of the story seems capable of bearing other constructions than a reference to foundation-sacrifice.¹

It is noteworthy that none of the infant bones found in the Gezer foundations show the slightest trace of fire, and in this connection it must not be forgotten that a very common practice was to immure the victim alive—as in the Iona instance, and in the case of the Castle of Liebenstein, where a child was said to have been walled in. It is possible that this was done at Gezer, at any rate in one case. Inside the building in whose wall this particular skeleton was found were two skeletons of infants, contained in jars—the latest examples of this form of sepulture yet found. The structure dates from the latter half of the Jewish monarchy.

Inside the Temple area, in the stratum containing the majority of the infant sacrifices, was found the calvaria of a man's skull. It is too much injured to be measured with exactitude, but in any case its cephalic index is much lower than that of any other skull found on the tell—I estimated it at somewhere about 70 or 71. The

¹ [Professor Sellin, however, has recently found traces of foundation sacrifices at Taanach (*see below*, p. 273), and analogous to these rites is the well-known Arabian custom of sprinkling blood (*see Doughty, Arabia Deserta*, vol. i, pp. 136, 452; vol. ii, p. 100). Mention may also be made of the modern practice of sacrificing sheep or oxen at the completion of a house, also at the opening of the Beirût-Damascus railway (*Folk-Lore*, vol. ix, p. 16, 1898). The custom was also Babylonian, and in the Temple of Bel at Nippur many skulls were found built in with the bricks.—ED.]

skull being found alone shows that the head only was deposited where it was found; and as the tendency to dolichocephaly suggests that it belonged to a member of a different race, it is possible that its original owner was a notable enemy whose head was deposited in the temple of the town divinity, as the Philistines deposited the armour of Saul in the Temple of the Ashtarothe, and David placed the trophy of Goliath in the house of Yahweh.

§ XIII.—THE 'ASHTAROTH KARNAIM.

In a small chamber in the sixth stratum, within the Temple area, but belonging to a period when the area had been built over,



FIG. 14.—Group of Lamps found associated with the Bronze Statuette.

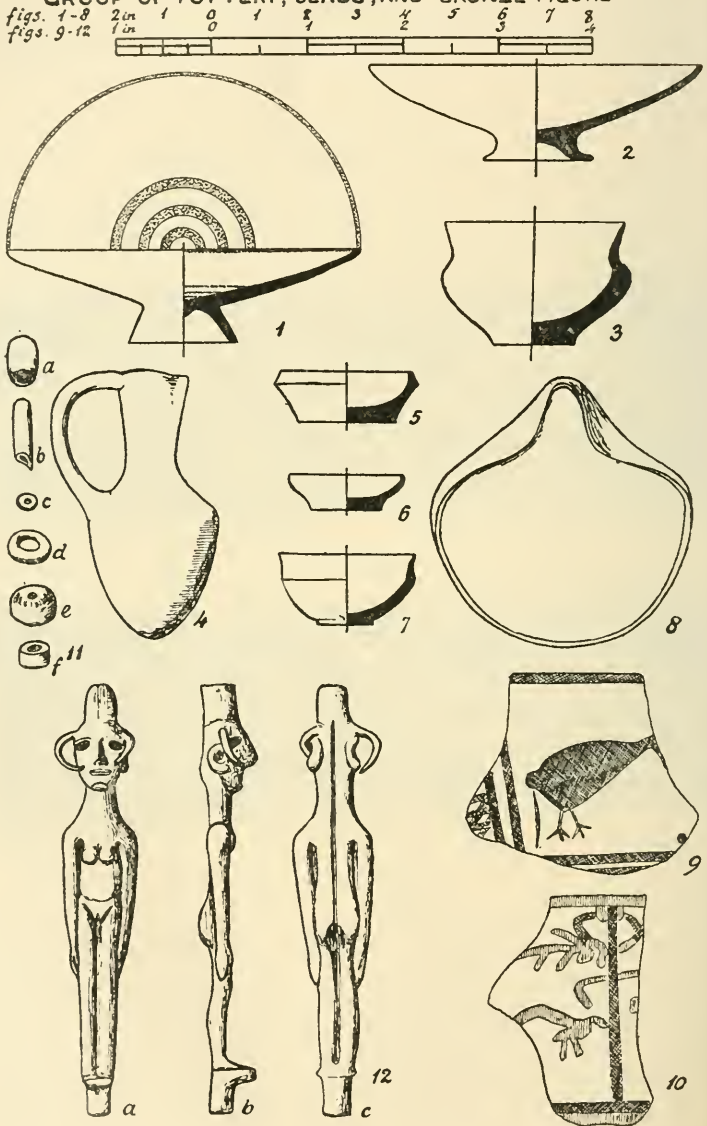


FIG. 15.—Group of Pottery found associated with the Bronze Statuette.

a discovery of unusual interest was made. A large quantity of pottery had been deposited—in fact the chamber was quite full of it. Nearly all was broken, but I was able to piece together most of the vessels, at least in part, and they are represented in the two annexed photographic views (Figs. 14, 15). The first represents 23 lamps of the common Amorite or Jewish type; the comparatively perfect specimens only are shown in this view; if broken fragments

EXCAVATION OF CEZER

| GROUP OF POTTERY, BEADS, AND BRONZE FIGURE | | | | | | | | | | | |
|--|------|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| figs. 1-8 | 2 in | 1 | 0 | 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 | 5 | 6 | 7 | 8 |
| figs. 9-12 | 1 in | | 0 | | 1 | | 2 | | 3 | | 4 |



of others had been included the number would have been at least 30. The rest of the restorable pottery is shown in the second photograph: three dishes or plates, one of them ornamented with red painted concentric circles (Plate IV, Fig. 1); eight small saucers or cups, and three small one-handled jugs. The types and outlines of the most important of these vessels are shown in diagram on Plate IV, where a scale is given from which their sizes can be determined. To the plate are added drawings of two fragments of painted ware bearing figures of a bird and other objects, in black and red; and a few beads in white paste (except *c* and *e*, which are blue), also found in the chamber.

But the chief interest of the hoard centres round a small bronze statuette, $4\frac{1}{2}$ inches in length, Plate IV, Fig. 12. It represents an undraped female, without the necklets, bracelets, or anklets usually worn by Ashtaroth figures, standing on a short mortice, such as are found under the feet of Egyptian bronze statuettes (compare the figure of Osiris already found at Gezer, and the bronze figurine from Tell el-Hesi, B. MMC., p. 67). The figure is badly proportioned, the arms being too long and the head too large. The ears, especially that on the left side of the figure, are very prominent. On the head is a cylindrical head-dress. The eyes are represented by hollow sockets in which probably stones were once inserted. There is no trace of gilding on any part of the surface. On the back a deep groove is cut down the line of the spine.

From the head, just above the ears, spring two slender horns, coiled like those of a ram and trending downwards. It is these appendages which give the figure its unique interest: they are not like the up-turned horns sometimes found on the head-dress of figures of Isis or of Hathor: they are of a quite different shape and are attached to the head of the statuette itself. Unless all the scholars to whom I have shown this figure agree with me in an error, we must regard this as a representation of the Ashtaroth Karnaim or "two-horned Astarte." Hitherto, so far as I am aware, the only other known representation of this goddess has been that carved on the stone altar at Kanamat (*see* Burton, *Unexplored Syria*, vol. i, frontispiece, and Merrill, *East of the Jordan*, p. 40). This example is of a totally different type: it is much broken, and *may* perhaps represent merely a bust between the horns of the crescent moon. Not the least interest of the present figure lies in its enabling us to identify a certain type of Astarte

plaque of which one example has here been found (Fig. 16) as in reality the horned Ashtaroth. Without its aid we would naturally take the horns for locks of hair.

The present report is not the place to venture far on so thorny a subject as the origin and meaning of the epithet *Karnaim* and the peculiarity which it denotes. The view which is at present, I believe, the most generally favoured—that it was derived from two horn-like mountains—does not seem to be supported by the Gezer statuette, which rather appears to indicate an origin in the worship of a cow divinity, of which traces, in the shape of small heads of



FIG. 16.—Terra-cotta Plaque with Figure of Ashtaroth-Karnaim.

cattle modelled in pottery, come to light almost every day in the excavations, and of which notable examples are recorded in the Old Testament.

§ XIV.—RETROSPECT OF THE YEAR'S WORK.

The present report closes the first year's work at Gezer. Roughly computing in round numbers, some 60,000 square feet of the rock-surface have been exposed by the clearance of the superincumbent débris. This area is distributed over an 80-foot trench on the eastern hill and two contiguous trenches of the same width in the Central Valley. For various reasons not one of these three trenches has as yet been carried completely across the hill.

In attempting a brief *résumé* of the year's work, I may be allowed to commence by quoting the following passage from a paper on the "History and Site of Gezer," written before the

excavation began, and published in the *Quarterly Statement* for July, 1902:—

“While it is unprofitable to indulge in vague speculations upon what may or may not await the explorer of this mound, it is hardly possible to avoid reflecting that, as three letters of the Palestine side of the Tell el-Amarna correspondence come from Gezer, it is only reasonable to expect one or two letters of the Egyptian side of the correspondence within the site; and that traces of the early Levitical occupation; of the Philistines; of the destruction and restoration of the city under Solomon; of its fortification by Bacchides; and of its tenure by the Crusaders, should not be sought in vain. Besides these landmarks of local history, upon which light ought to be thrown, we have wider problems before us, to the solution of which the projected excavations should help us. In a brief paper, read at the General Meeting of the Fund (16th July, 1901), I have already indicated some of these: the disposal of the dead by the pre-Israelite tribes; the nature and extent of Mycenaean and Egyptian influence on Palestinian culture; the period of the introduction of iron; and the ethnological affinities of the Philistines and other coast-dwellers.”

It is satisfactory to reflect that a large proportion of the work laid out in the above extract has been accomplished. *Traces of the Levitical occupation* have been found in the evidence of Jewish worship at the Great Central Shrine of the town. *The destruction and restoration of the city under Solomon* and its *fortification by Bacchides* have both been illustrated by towers and walls assigned with reasonable probability to these builders. The method of the *disposal of the dead by the pre-Israelite tribes* has been determined with a completeness that we could not have ventured to hope for; the *nature and extent of Mycenaean and Egyptian influences on Palestinian culture* has received illustration in objects found almost daily; while the *period of the introduction of iron* has been indicated, though perhaps the deductions cannot as yet claim finality. The mound still remains silent on the subject of the Philistines and of their mediæval antitypes the Crusaders; nor has it yet yielded the wished-for answers to Yapahî's agonised petitions to the King of Egypt.

In addition to the above results the following have been obtained :—

1. A remarkable series of correspondences, both in general and in detail, have been established between the Biblical history of the site and the history as deduced from the buildings and objects unearthed.

2. The bones, pottery, implements, and dwellings of a Neolithic race hitherto unknown in Palestine have been recovered, and undoubted bones of the Amorite and early Israelite races have for the first time been found.

3. A high place or temple of the Canaanites has been laid bare, and the tangible remains of infant sacrifices, orgies, oracle-giving, perhaps also ophiolatry, Stylistism, and other concomitants of Semitic worship, have been unearthed.

4. Important corrections have been made in the history of the development of pottery and of other arts in Palestine.

The excavator had no divining-rod, enabling him to select the three profitable trenches from among the rest. The only surface-indication followed in selecting the places for excavation were the tops of the standing pillar stones, which, though sufficiently striking, did not certainly promise important secrets at their feet. It may be said, with almost complete accuracy, that the selection of the sites of the trenches which yielded the above long series of important results was made at random.

There is room on the mound for about 16 more such trenches within the ascertained limits of the city. Two of these cannot be excavated on account of the modern local shrine and cemetery which cover them. One at the eastern end may be neglected as the rock-surface is almost, or completely, uncovered in its course. Leaving out these three, we are left with 13 trenches that must still be opened before the excavation within the walls of the city can be said to be complete. There is no reason to suppose that any one of these 13 is less prolific than any other. Neglecting some factors that need not at present be taken into account, and estimating the three incomplete trenches already excavated as equivalent to two complete trenches, the calculus of probabilities tells us that the lessons already learnt from the mound are only one-eighth of the total amount of information to be gleaned from it by trenching alone.

Moreover, trenching is not the whole work of the tell. There is a very large amount of extra-mural débris which must be searched for ancient rubbish heaps, and the cemetery which exists somewhere in the adjacent hills must be located and exhausted before our knowledge of ancient Gezer can be said to be complete.

The work has advanced continuously throughout the year, save for two and a half months lost during the cholera epidemic in the winter, with an average of 75 labourers. Obviously, unless the labourers can be added to in large numbers, the completion of the work before the expiry of the firman will be a sheer impossibility.

ARCHÆOLOGICAL AND EPIGRAPHIC NOTES ON PALESTINE.

By Professor CLERMONT-GANNEAU, M.I.

24. *Mount Hermon and its God in an inedited Greek Inscription* (continued).—IV. Naturally, at the date to which the palæography of our inscription brings us down—perhaps the third century of our era—we are far from the remote times when the god in his high place¹ received the homage of the primitive population of that part of Syria. But neither the place nor the god have changed, and no less the ceremonies which constitute his cult. It is to be supposed that it is to some one or other of these rites that our inscription refers. It has the character of an imperative liturgical order. It is a command issued in the name of the god himself, and it seems to me that ἐντεῶθεν should be taken in its natural sense of starting from a place—"from here, hence"—a verb being understood. The stone, shaped like a rude stele, should mark the very point

¹ There can be no doubt that it is exactly upon this central summit of Hermon that the cult of which it was the object should be placed, and the new document now introduced into the question only corroborates this view. It is useful here to correct an erroneous idea formerly expressed by Robinson, and still current to-day, namely, that the various temples, whose ruins appear in the region around Mount Hermon, were orientated towards the great culminating and central sanctuary as a sort of sacred *Kibla*. Sir Charles Warren (*op. cit.*, p. 184, *et passim*) has shown that this is not so, and that all the temples were, as is usually the case, orientated towards the East.

indicated by the order where the ὀμνύοντες, "those who take the oath," had to perform a certain movement. If reference is made to the sanctuary in its actual state, with its oval *enceinte*, encircling the sacred ground in the midst of which stands the truncated cone, hollowed out, and marking the site of the Holy of Holies, with its little *sacellum*,¹ flanking the *enceinte* on the south, with the mysterious cavern on the north-east side, one can imagine a kind of solemn procession (πομπή),² which performed around the sacred place the ritual circumambulations which always appear to have played a considerable part in the various Semitic cults. The order and steps of these evolutions would be minutely regulated, as also their number, direction, and stations: our inscription, perhaps, marking the point of departure or of a halt followed by a resumption of the evolutions. I do not think one can attribute to the god's order a prohibitive sense, and regard ἐντεῦθεν as an interdiction: "Away from here!"—an elliptical expression—forbidding to the ὀμνύοντες access to the sanctuary.

It is difficult to determine what these ὀμνύοντες ("sworn" or "vowed") might have been. Were they the faithful, initiated ones who joined themselves by solemn vows to the divinity under circumstances of which we are ignorant? On the other hand, were they persons to whom was tendered the judicial oath in the sanctuary of the supreme god? In the latter case one is reminded of certain Biblical passages (1 Kings viii, 31; 2 Chron. vi, 22) where reference is made to an oath pronounced in the temple before the altar of Jehovah. These are, indeed, only conjectures, and others might be hazarded, but in view of our ignorance of the particular kind of oath of which the inscription speaks, it is more prudent to refrain. One cannot help asking, however, whether there may not be some connection, more or less intimate, between the oath, whatever it may have been, and the name of *Hermon* itself, which popular tradition, rightly or wrongly, associates with the root חרם, "devote, consecrate."³ From this point of view the

¹ The construction of this little edifice, to judge from the mouldings, does not appear to date back beyond the Roman period. It may, therefore, be almost contemporaneous with our inscription.

² The very arrangement of the places naturally suggests this idea (*cf.* Warren, *op. cit.*, p. 214; Guérin, *Galilée*, II, p. 293, &c.).

³ It corresponds thus to the Arabic *ḥarama*. Some moderns, however, have preferred to connect the name with the root *ḥarama*, comparing *ḥarm*, *ḥurm*, "mountain summit."

Baal of Hermon should partake somewhat of the character of a Ζεὺς ὄρκιος or *Jupiter Jurarius*.

V. Now, whether justified or not, this popular tradition existed in ancient times: Mount Hermon was the "mountain of oath." So we are told, with some extremely curious details, in the famous apocryphal "Book of Enoch."¹

As will presently be seen, this document and our inscription shed brilliant and unexpected light upon each other: the former refers to the celebrated episodes of the fallen angels whom the Bible calls "the sons of God"—the *bēnē Elōhīm*.²

"And it came to pass when the sons of men were multiplied, that in these days there were born beautiful and fair damsels. And the angels, sons of heaven, saw them and desired them, and they said one to another, 'Come! let us choose women among the men and beget children.' And Semiazas, who was their chief, said unto them: 'I fear lest you be unwilling to carry the thing through (to the end), and then I alone shall remain blameworthy of a great fault.' They answered him together: 'Let us all take an oath and adjure one another by mutual anathemas³ not to desist from our resolve until we have accomplished it and brought the undertaking to a successful finish.' Then they all swore together and bound themselves by reciprocal anathemas⁴ [Now⁵ these (angels) were 200 in number which descended in the days of Jared upon the summit of Mount Hermon, and they called this mountain Hermon, because it was there they had sworn

¹ My citations are from the recent edition of the Greek and Ethiopic text by Flemming and Radermacher, *Das Buch Henoch* (Leipzig, 1901). The Greek text is naturally followed for choice; its lacunæ are supplemented by Syncellus, and the divergences of the Ethiopic version are noted where the occasion arises. [English readers may prefer the translation of the Book of Enoch by Professor R. H. Charles.]

² I do not stop to take up the question, so frequently discussed, of the close relation between Gen. vi, 1-4, and the narrative in Enoch. It is well known that the latter is referred to in the Epistle of Jude, verses 6, 14 *seq.*

³ Ὁμόσωμεν ὄρκῳ πάντες καὶ ἀναθεματίσωμεν πάντες ἀλλήλους.

⁴ Τότε ὤμοσαν πάντες ὁμοῦ καὶ ἀνεθεμάτισαν ἀλλήλους ἐν αὐτῷ . . . (lacuna).

⁵ Here the Greek text of the Akhmîm MS. presents a lacuna which is exactly completed by the literal text of Syncellus (ἦσαν δὲ οὗτοι διακόσιοι οἱ καταβάντες ἐν ταῖς ἡμέραις Ἰαριδ εἰς τὴν κορυφὴν τοῦ Ἑρμονίῳ ὄρους· καὶ ἐκάλεσαν τὸ ὄρος Ἑρμῶν, καθότι ὤμοσαν καὶ ἀναθεματίσαν ἀλλήλους ἐν αὐτῷ). The Ethiopic version has the passage also complete, but has disfigured it by a serious contradiction, taking the name of the patriarch Jared to be that of the summit of Mount Hermon: "And they descended upon *Ardis*, which is the summit of Mount Hermon, and they called it Mount Hermon, because, &c."

and bound themselves by reciprocal anathemas.] And these are the names of their chiefs, &c.”

(Then follows the enumeration of the names of the ten chiefs commanding the 200 sinful angels, Semiazas at the head; their fornication with the women; the birth of the giants, the issue of these unions, veritable ogres devouring everything upon the earth—beast and man; instruction in different sciences and industries given to men by the fallen angels, each according to his speciality; the cry of humanity rising towards God, entreating Him to put an end to all these monstrosities; finally, the chastisement of the wicked angels and the announcement of the Deluge.)

This passage from the Book of Enoch was well known to St. Hilary and to St. Jerome¹ (or at least the author of the commentary attributed to this Father of the Church), who refer to it in their commentaries on Psalm cxxxii (Eng. cxxxiii), v. 3, where mention is made of the dew of Hermon descending upon Mount Zion.

VI. The characteristic trait of the narrative is the preliminary “conjunction” of the rebel angels on the summit of Hermon, which hints at the meaning of the name of the mountain itself. The most solemn form of oath was always strengthened by fearful invocations and anathemas, which fell upon the head of him who violated it. Such is probably the case here. It will be noticed that the Greek text uses the verb *ὀμνῶμι* several times. This is precisely the word in our inscription, and at first one is even tempted to ask whether the mysterious *ὀμνῶντες*, who are mentioned absolutely, may not designate the angels in question, and whether the inscription was not intended to commemorate an ancient tradition connected with the sanctuary, whilst, at the same time, marking the very place where the divine conjurators placed foot on earth, and whence (*ἐν τῷ ὄρει*) they separated. But I do not think that such a view is right. The terms employed at the beginning of the inscription (“by the order of the God”) clearly show that it deals with a liturgical order regulating a certain movement of the devotees who

¹ *St. Hilaire*: Hermon autem est mons in Phœnice, cujus interpretatio *anathema* est; quod enim nobiscum anathema nuncupatur, id hebraice *Hermon* dicitur. Fertur autem id, de quo etiam nescio ejus liber extat, quod angeli concupiscentes filias hominum, cum de cœlo descenderunt, in hunc montem maxime excelsum convenerint. *St. Jerome*: Legimus in quodam libro apocrypho, eo tempore quo descendeabant filii dei ad filias hominum, descendisse illos in montem Hermon et ibi inisse pactum quo modo venirent ad filias hominum et sibi eas sociarent.

participated in some ceremony, the fundamental feature in which was the taking of an oath. I incline rather to the idea that the author of the Book of Enoch, or, at least, with that part of the book with which we are dealing, being very familiar, as we shall see, with the Hermon district, and, in particular, with the local traditions there current, has chosen to place there the scene of the conjuration of the angels, on account of the sanctuary of Hermon being celebrated for the performance of this ritual oath. It is even possible that the author, whether a Jew or, if the term be preferred (the question is controverted), a Judeo-Christian, found this pagan practice so abominable that it first suggested to him the idea of this detail of the "conjuration" of the wicked angels. We cannot find in the narrative, which is certainly very brief, the germ of the growth which has supplied him with the mythical development of the theme. Besides, instead of being the actual inventor of this detail, he may, perhaps, have merely followed a legend which was already held in honour in the particular circle to which he belonged, and was formed under the influence and conditions which I have indicated above. In fact, we shall shortly notice curious variations of the narrative in other sources. We shall meet with the same elements: the sons of God, Hermon, and a certain oath closely associated with it. But these elements are combined from another point of view, and the question is whether these variations are deviations, intentional or not, from the narrative in the Book of Enoch, or whether they may not represent another account of an ancient popular tradition from which the author of this book and the other writers have borrowed more or less independently.

Whatever it be, it is manifest that the Book of Enoch attaches special importance to this oath of the fallen angels. It is proved by the fact that the author frequently returns to it with marked relish. Indeed, immediately before starting the episode which interests us, he prepares for it, in a way, by expressing his horror for certain sacrilegious oaths (*cf.* Matt. v, 33-37; and James v, 12):—

"And it is by you that utter imprecations, all those who utter them, and all the sinners and impious swear by you" (ἐν ὑμῖν . . . ὀμοῦνται; v. 6, ll. 11-13).

In another passage, preserved only by Syncellus,¹ the author speaks again (without naming it) of the mountain where the

¹ Cited in *Das Buch Henoch*, p. 44, note.

angels concluded their pact, binding themselves by oaths and anathemas. He seems to regard it as an accursed mountain, on account of the crime of which it was the scene. Cold, snow, and frost envelope it eternally¹; the dew never falls there,² only the curse descends there, until the Day of the Last Judgment when it will be burnt and melt like wax.

Finally, in another part of the book, which is preserved only by the Ethiopic version (ch. lxix, pp. 88–90), unfortunately with some lacunæ and doubtful or obscure passages, the author speaks in detail of another mysterious oath which he appears to set in opposition to that of the wicked angels. After having enumerated anew — under different forms — their names, he shows us the archangel Michael entreated³ to disclose to the saints, in order that they may pronounce it in their oath, the secret name of God — the famous *Shēm Mephôrâsh* — the name and oath before which tremble “those who have shown to the sons of men everything that was hidden.”⁴

Alongside the account of the Book of Enoch must be placed the narratives of the Syriac,⁵ which, though agreeing with it both essentially and in a number of smaller details, diverge in one important particular: the “sons of God” are not angels, but the descendants of the patriarch Seth, the father of the giants — himself

¹ It is well known that on some parts of Hermon the snow remains until the middle of summer, whence one of its names, *Jebel et-Telj*, “the mountain of snow.”

² The dew of Hermon was celebrated; cf. Ps. cxxxiii, cited above, and the commentaries of St. Hilarius and St. Jerome.

³ The reason of this is not very clear, owing to the obscurity of the Ethiopic version.

⁴ An allusion to the various arts and trades revealed to men by the fallen angels. The piece also contains a long elaboration of the quasi-magical power of this oath, by virtue of which everything has been created and regulated. I suspect that here the Ethiopic translator has not entirely seized the general sense of the passage, and has attributed to the oath the power which in reality belongs to the ineffable name.

⁵ Cf. Eutyclus, *Annals*, pp. 16 *et seq.*; Michael the Syrian, *Chron.* (ed. Chabot) i, pp. 4–13; Barhebraeus, *Chron.*, p. 4, *Hist.*, p. 7, &c.; cf. Cureton, *Spic. Syr.*, notes, p. 78 *seq.*; and the *Storehouse of Treasures* (*Auṣûr Râzé*). For the various Fathers of the Church who have adopted the Syriac tradition from a dogmatic point of view, cf. Robert, *Revue Biblique*, 1895, pp. 340 *et seq.*, 525 *et seq.* On the Rabbinical points of contact, see, among others, Grünbaum, *Z.D.M.G.*, xxxi, pp. 225 *seq.*, 235 *seq.*, 245. Allusion may be made, in passing, to the various details, more or less accurate, which Moslem tradition has borrowed.

a giant. This group of narratives, which is full of variants, into which it would take too long to enter here, may be thus summed up:—At the death of Adam, Seth (born in place of Abel) and his family separate themselves from the family of Cain the accursed, and whilst the latter remains in the valley, the scene of the murder of Abel, the Sethites set out to establish themselves upon the summit of Hermon, the holy mountain where Adam had been buried in the Cave of Treasures. They pass a life of purity and holiness, under conditions of simplicity reminding one of the Golden Age; whilst, below, the Cainites invent musical instruments, work in metals, and construct buildings. The Sethites pass their time praising God, mixing their chants with those of the angels neighbouring whose voices they hear. It is on this account that they are called “sons of God.” They have an oath consisting of the words, “No, by the blood of Abel!” Seth, at his death, adjured his children, “by the blood of Abel,” never to descend from the holy mountain to rejoin the Cainites, and at each generation this solemn oath was renewed until the time of the patriarch Jared, father of Enoch. The Cainites, however, continued to abandon themselves to every excess and debauchery, and the noise of their instruments of music rose to the summit of Hermon. Then 500 Sethites, drawn by this music, united to descend to the Cainites, despite the efforts of Jared, who, in the name of the blood of Abel, adjured them to refrain. Other bands followed them. Inflamed by the charms of the shameless daughters of the Cainites, they joined themselves to them, and as they were of gigantic stature they begat giants. Time passed; iniquity increased on the earth to such an extent that Noah, the last patriarch of the Sethites, remained alone upon the mountain with his wife¹ and three sons. At the command of God, who had decided to bring about the Deluge, he left it to build the ark, but not before he had taken with him the body of Adam.²

We find there, in short, the same elements as in the account of the Book of Enoch, but combined and presented in a different manner. The oath there, too, plays an important part, but it is a

¹ According to Eutychius, Noah's wife bore the suggestive name *Hēkal* (“Sanctuary”), and was daughter of *Nāmūsā* (cf. *nāmūs*, “cavern,” in the Arab dialect of Syria).

² He carried away at the same time (says Eutychius) the offerings deposited with Adam. Shem took charge of the gold, Ham the myrrh, and Japhet the incense (cf. the three Magi).

violated oath instead of a conjuration preliminary to an act of sin. The guilty "sons of God" are no longer angels, but descendants of Seth. The mountain has a more marked character of sanctity, without the evil reputation which the Book of Enoch ascribes to it. It is a true place of cult; it contains a sacred cavern, the sepulchre of Adam and the patriarchs.¹ It is difficult to say whether this is a case of mere disfigurement of the narrative in the Book of Enoch, or of true variants which have preserved other traits of a primitive local and purely Syrian legend. I must confess that I incline to the second hypothesis. I am struck by the persistence with which certain significant Biblical incidents are remembered, and are attached to various places in the district, whether in written or oral tradition: the tomb of Seth at Yafûfeh, that of Noah at Kerak Nûh, the name of Abel at Abila, the creation of Adam at the *ager Damascenus*, the site of Eden itself in these quarters, &c. It would seem, at least, as if at some time there had been a general localising of the principal episodes of the first chapters of Genesis in this particular region. Nothing proves that this localisation was *after* the Moham-
medan conquest; certain indications, on the other hand, point to the contrary. In this case there would be in the formation of these indigenous legends a mixture of pagan,² Biblical, and Christian elements, which may, to some extent, explain the relationship of the cult of Hermon, such as it is revealed to us by our inscription, with the various fables associated with the sacred mountain.

VIII. In any case, it seems to me to lead to a rather interesting indication as to the origin of the author (or one of the authors) of the Book of Enoch. I incline to believe that, wherever he may have been born, at least he must have lived in the district of Hermon. This mountain which interests him so much, and which he knows

¹ Cf. the cavern mentioned above (p. 232), at the north-east of the *enceinte* of the sanctuary of Hermon.

² As regards pagan elements, account should be taken of a detail in Sanchuniathon's Phœnician cosmogony, wherein a connection with the Biblical tradition of the fall of the sons of God, and of the birth of the giants, has long been recognised. It is the passage (ed. Orelli, p. 16) dealing with the giants identified with the mountains Kasius, Lebanon, Anti-libanus, and Brathu, and their shameless mothers. In this family of Syrian mountain gods, Hermon is evidently included; it is either represented by the Anti-libanus or it is to be recognised in the enigmatical Brathu. The connection is confirmed by the fact that the pseudo-Sanchuniathon attributes to these giants and their posterity the invention of the chief industrial and other arts.

so well, must have been in his immediate geographical horizon. He is familiar with the surrounding places. Whilst he speaks of Sinai or Jerusalem in only a vague way, he describes the topography of the Hermon district with the greatest precision:—

“And, having gone, I seated myself near the waters of Dan, in the land of Dan, which is due east of Hermon (Ἑρμωνειῖμ). [There Enoch falls asleep and has a vision; a heavenly voice orders him to go and speak to the ‘sons of heaven’ to convince them.] And being awakened I went to find them. And they were all assembled mourning at Ebelsata (πενθοῦντες ἐν Ἐβέλσατά), which is between Lebanon and Senesel (Σενεσήλ).”¹

As has long been recognised,² by the “waters of Dan” the author means one of the sources of the Jordan, probably that of the little Jordan of Josephus, the modern Leddân,³ near Tell el-Kâdi, at the foot of Hermon, on the south-east side. One may note the expression ἐκ δεξιῶν Ἑρμωνειῖμ ἑύσεως, which, if this somewhat unexpected plural is not the result of an error,⁴ is to be understood literally: “At the east of the right-hand Hermons,” יְמִינִי = “right (hand side),” and “south.”

The place where the angels assemble to mourn is defined with a minuteness that shows that it refers to an actual locality, and one well known to the writer. Unfortunately the form of the two names in the passage are somewhat uncertain. For the first, the Ethiopic transcription *Ublesiûl* seems to imply ΕΒΕΛCΔΙΑ or ΟΒΕΛCΙΔΗΛ, instead of ΕΒΕΛCΑΤΑ—that is, if it is not a wrong reading on the part of the translator. As for the second,

¹ *Das Buch Henoch*, p. 36 (xiii, 7-9).

² See, among others, Lods, *Le Livre d'Henoch*, pp. 132-135.

³ A survival of the name *Dan* has rightly been sought in the Arabic *Leddân*, but no satisfactory explanation of the first syllable, *Led*, has been offered. I am tempted to believe that the syllable conceals the primitive name, *Laish-Dan*, לַיִשׁ: corresponding normally to *layth*, *layt*; the dental *th*, *t*, is assimilated to *d* on account of the *d* following. The successive stages would be

לַיִשׁ דָּן = לִישׁ דָּן = לִישׁ דָּן = לִישׁ דָּן = לִישׁ דָּן.

⁴ So various scholars, but their conclusions are scarcely satisfactory: Ἑρμῶν [καὶ ἐκ] δύσεως (Dillmann); Ἑρμῶν [ἡ οἶμαι] δύσεως (Diels). Another correction may be suggested which, if not quite philological, is at least palaeographically easy: ἐκ δεξιῶν Ἑρμῶν [εἰς τὰ] δύσεως (ΕΙΕΙΜ=ΕΙCΤΑ). Nevertheless, it must not be forgotten that Syncellus himself uses the plural form (τοῦ Ἑρμωνειῖμ), not to speak of the (in other respects doubted) ἡρμῶν of Ps. xlii, 7.

CENECHA, the Ethiopic variant *Seneser* is, perhaps, phonetic rather than palæographic (*r* = *l*). In any case, it is probable that, as already admitted,¹ in the first element of Εβελσατα we have the widely-spread Hebrew אֵבֶל, *âbel*, "meadow," with an allusion in the πενθοῦντες to אֵבֶל, *êbel*, "mourning"; cf. the "mourning of the Egyptians" *Âbel* or *Êbel Miṣraim*, perhaps under the influence of אֵבֶל הַשְּׁטִים, *Abel hash-Shittîm*. I do not know whether the proposed connections with Abel Beth-Maacah, Abila of Lebanon, &c., are justified, or the arbitrary and risky explanations by Abel-Jael, Abel-Zion, Abel-Sheol, Abel-Satan,² &c. Perhaps the truth is to be found near at hand: the names *Ibl* and *Abil* are numerous enough in the immediate neighbourhood of Hermon itself, and offer plenty of choice. *Sîn Ibl*, to the north-east, quite near the source of Leddân; *Ibl* (el-Haua), rather more to the north, in the valley of Hasbâny; *Âbl* or *Âbil* (el-Ḳamh), to the east of and not far from Tell el-Ḳâdi.³ The second of these perhaps corresponds best to the requirements of the narrative, especially if Σερεσηλ may be corrected to Σερεβηλ and identified with *Sîn Ibl*, *Ibl* el-Haua being between the *massif* of Lebanon (to the north-east) and *Sîn Ibl* (to the south-east). In any case, it can scarcely be doubted that the author has in his mind actual localities situated in the western district of Hermon.

IX. It is very tempting to suppose further that in the picture he shows us of the angels in mourning at Ebelsata, he is referring to some pagan ceremony of the kind that was celebrated on the summit of Hermon, and which has already furnished him with the most striking features of his history of the "conjunction" of the wicked angels. Here there may have been another idolatrous abomination to inspire our rigid votary of Jehovah: the celebration of the *Adonia*, so popular in Syria, in which was mourned the god Tammuz-Adonis.

Finally, this narrative of the fall of the angels appears to me to contain another feature which, like the oath taken upon the holy mountain, might also be borrowed from old Syrian cults and myths. This is the detail of the "descent" of the angels upon

¹ Cf. Lods, *op. cit.*, p. 133.

² Lods, *op. cit.*, p. 134.

³ The last mentioned is generally taken to represent Abel Beth-Maacah.

the summit of Hermon "in the days of Jared" (καταβάντες ἐν ταῖς ἡμέραις Ἰαρέ). There would seem to be some close connection between the name of the patriarch *Jared*, יָרֵד ("to descend"), and this "descent" of the angels. Origen¹ insists upon explaining this name by καταβαίνων, "descending," and in speaking of the "descent" (καταβάσεως) of the "sons of God" to the daughters of men which took place in Jared's time.

It is, perhaps, owing to the apparent significance of his name that the patriarch owes his inclusion in this history. Now we know, on the other hand, that in old Syrian rites there was a very important and very popular ceremony which actually bore the name of יָרֵד, *yṛūd* and κατάβασις, "the descent." As M. Isid. Lévy² has shown, following Hoffmann, it was practised in various places in Syria: at Heliopolis, Hierapolis, Aphaca, Tyre, at the Terebinth of Mamre, &c., perhaps, even, at Jerusalem itself. It consisted chiefly in drawing water, which was borne in procession and thrown into a sacred tank, whence the full name, as given by the pseudo-Lucian (*De Dea Syria*, 47): κατάβασις ἐς τὴν λίμνην. I should not be surprised if the sanctuary of Hermon was formerly the scene of such a ceremony of this nature. Perhaps it was into the deep and remarkable cavity noticed by the explorers in the central cone that the consecrated water was thrown.³ Under these circumstances, if the sanctuary of Hermon really had its *yṛūd*, or *katabasis*, it would not be too rash, perhaps, to suppose that it was from this that the author of the Book of Enoch may have drawn his idea of the "descent of the angels in the days of Jared," even as he has drawn his idea of the "conjunction" of this rite of the "oath," the existence of which is expressly attested by our valuable inscription. Viewing it with abhorrence from the Jewish point of view, he will only have interpreted after his own fashion two characteristic features of an abominable pagan cult which was practised under

¹ *Comm.* on St. John, *ap. Lods, op. cit.*, p. 106; *ib.*, the same explanation in the Book of Jubilees.

² *Rev. des Études Juives*, 1901 (extract, pp. 10, 13-19). To the Talmudic and Greek texts cited by M. Lévy, one may add the passage in the pseudo-Melito (Cureton, *Spic. Syr.*, p. 44), which agrees in a very remarkable manner with that of pseudo-Lucian. [*Cf.* above, p. 218.—ED.]

³ Although this ritual act appears to have been associated in a general way with diluvian myths, it is not impossible that here it reflects some superstition relating to the origin of the Jordan, which is, to some extent, the son of the Hermon, and whose name (יַרְדֵּן), immediately recalls that of Jared (יָרֵד).

his very eyes on the summit of the mountain, at the foot of which he may have lived, and with the legendary history of which he was intimately acquainted.

GOLGOTHA AND THE HOLY SEPULCHRE.

By Major-General Sir C. W. WILSON, K.C.B., F.R.S., R.E., &c.

(Continued from p. 153.)

ON the supposition that there was no definite tradition with regard to the position of Golgotha, can any reason be suggested for the selection of the present site by Macarius?

The possibility of some connection between Golgotha and the name *Ælia Capitolina* has already been mentioned.¹ According to a fanciful etymology the word *Capitolium* is derived from the head or skull of a certain *Olus*, or *Tolus*, *caput Oli regis*, which was discovered when the rock on the summit of the Capitoline Hill at Rome² was excavated for the foundations of the temple of Jupiter; and there is an ancient legend that Golgotha was so called from the skull of Adam, which was found in a tomb beneath the "rock of the Cross."³ The two words *Capitolium* and *Golgotha* have the same meaning, and the *Capitolium* was regarded at Rome, as Golgotha was at Jerusalem, as the chief place or centre of the world.⁴

On the Capitoline Hill at Rome, near the temple of Mars, stood a temple of Venus *Capitolina*; and above the assumed rock of Golgotha rose a temple of Venus, or Aphrodite, the Syrian Astarte. At Rome the goddess was known as Venus *Victrix*, the giver of victory to lovers and Roman armies, and she was called *Calva*, "the bald," a word from which *Calvaria*, "Calvary," is derived. One of the chief seats of the worship of the Oriental Aphrodite, or Astarte, was *Golgi*⁵—the same word as *Golgotha*—in Cyprus. In building

¹ *Quarterly Statement*, 1902, p. 151.

² The connection of a head, or skull, with a city is not uncommon, e.g., that of the head of St. John Baptist with Samaria, Damascus, and Emesa. See also the legends connected with the heads of Bel, Dionysos, Orpheus, and Osiris, and the oracle-giving head at Harrân.

³ *Quarterly Statement*, 1902, p. 67.

⁴ *Ibid.*, 1902, pp. 67-70.

⁵ Γολγοί, Γόλγυος, from Γόλγος (*Golgos*), the son of Aphrodite and Adonis, and the reputed founder of the town; or, according to Sepp (*Das heilige Land*, i, 419), from the rock-cones (Heb., *Galgol*, *Golgol*) which played an important

the great temple of Venus and Rome at the capital, Hadrian identified the goddess with the well-being of the State. The crowned goddess on the imperial coins of Ælia Capitolina¹ has been called Astarte by De Sauley, Madden, and others, but this identification is by no means certain. The type occurs at cities where Astarte is impossible, and the figure is apparently the local Tyche, or city-goddess, holding in her hand the head or bust of the reigning Emperor,² and resting on a sceptre.

It may be inferred from the expressions "a gloomy shrine of lifeless idols" and "profane and accursed altars," used by Eusebius,³ that the temple of Aphrodite at Jerusalem contained several statues, and it has been suggested⁴ that one of them may have been a representation of Jupiter.⁵ Is it possible that we have here the Capitolum of Ælia Capitolina containing, like the Capitolia of other large towns of the Empire, *e.g.*, Carthage, a temple of Jupiter and Venus; and, if so, could the legend of the skull of Adam, and even the name Golgotha, have had their origin in the Jerusalem Capitol?

part in the rites connected with the worship of the goddess who was called γολγῶν ἄνασσα. The ruins of the large temple of Aphrodite, or Astarte, in Cyprus, were excavated in 1871.

¹ On the coins of Antoninus Pius and his successors. The goddess is represented standing, sometimes alone, sometimes in a temple, with a sceptre or spear in her left hand, a human head in her outstretched right hand, and with her right foot on a human figure. The head is supposed by some writers to be that of Adonis, and the human figure to be a river-god or a vanquished Jew.

² I am indebted for this suggestion to Dr. Barclay V. Head, Keeper of Coins, &c., at the British Museum, who has referred me to "a coin of Cremna in Pisidia (*B.M. Cat.*, p. 218 and cii): reverse, FORTUN. COL. CREMN., with this type of Fortuna crowned, with sceptre in left and human head in outstretched right hand, and with right foot on upper part of human figure. Also a coin of Adraa (Edrei), in (the Province) Arabia (De Sauley, *Num. de la Terre Sainte*, p. 374), where a coin of the same type bears the inscription, ΑΔΡΑΗΝΩΝ ΤΥΧΗ.

³ *I.C.*, iii. 26; see *Quarterly Statement*, 1903, p. 64 (App. 4).

⁴ *Quarterly Statement*, 1903, p. 55.

⁵ Sepp suggests (*H.L.*, i, 421) that the statue of Jupiter mentioned by Jerome and Paulinus of Nola was really one of the Egyptian Serapis, whose head appears on coins of Antoninus and his successors. It would appear from a dedicatory inscription at the Sion Gate that Serapis was worshipped at Jerusalem in the reign of Trajan, whilst the city was still only a Roman camp. The temple of Serapis was probably in the southern quarter of the camp, not far from the Sion Gate. (*Q.S.* 1895, pp. 25, 130; 1896, pp. 133-152).

The manner in which Jerome connects Jupiter and Venus with the Tomb and Golgotha¹ suggests the idea that the Capitolium of Ælia was at Golgotha. But the statement of Dion Cassius² that Hadrian built a temple of Jupiter Capitolinus on the site of the Temple of God, supported as it is by the reference of Jerome³ to a statue of Jupiter in the Temple precincts, is strong, but not conclusive evidence that the Capitolium was on Mount Moriah. The view that the Capitolium gave rise to the name Golgotha and to the Adam legend involves the theory that the spot where Christ suffered was situated in the Capitolium of Ælia; that the place was first called Golgotha in the second century; and, as a consequence, that the references in the Gospels to the "place of a skull," and "the skull," were inserted in the text at a later date than the reign of Hadrian. But the general tendency of recent criticism has been to strengthen the opinion that the Gospels assumed their present form long before Hadrian came to the throne, and, apart from this, it is not easy to believe that the place of the Crucifixion only received its distinctive Aramaic name a century after the death of Christ, and that Golgotha was then, for the first time, mentioned in the Gospels.⁴ The Adam legend is, in all probability, of much earlier date than the second century.⁵ There would thus appear to be no direct etymological relation between Golgotha and the Capitolium of Ælia, and no reason to believe that the name, Golgotha, was derived from, or caused by, the Capitolium.

The view that Golgotha was well known in the time of Hadrian, and that, apart from any hostile feeling towards the Christians, the name itself would have led to the selection of the spot for the erection of a temple of Venus, has been advanced by Sepp.⁶ But the evidence of a continuous tradition is so uncertain⁷ that the alternative theory, that the presence of the temple influenced, to a certain degree, the identification of Golgotha with the present site, seems preferable.

The Church historians, later than Eusebius, evidently believed that some inquiry preceded the identification.⁸ There may, perhaps,

¹ *Quarterly Statement*, 1903, p. 53.

² *Ibid.*, 1903, p. 52.

³ *Ibid.*, 1903, p. 52, and note 2.

⁴ The slight variations of wording in Matt. xxvii, 33; Mark xv, 22; and John xix, 17, and the omission of the word Golgotha in Luke xxiii, 33, seem opposed to the theory of an authorised interpolation at such a late period.

⁵ *Quarterly Statement*, 1902, p. 70.

⁶ *H.L.*, i, 420.

⁷ *Quarterly Statement*, 1903, p. 63.

⁸ *Ibid.*, 1903, p. 147.

have been some vague idea amongst the Jews of Palestine¹ that Golgotha lay to the north of the citadel, and, the castle of Antonia, which protected the Temple, having been destroyed, Macarius may have taken it for granted that the citadel referred to was on the western hill. On this hill the three towers left standing by Titus marked the position of Herod's fortified palace; and to the north of the towers lay an ancient Jewish cemetery, which possibly included amongst its rock-hewn tombs the sepulchre of John the High Priest. In the midst of the cemetery, and partly covering it, stood a temple of Venus. May not Macarius, in his selection of the present site, have been influenced, in the absence of any definite tradition, partly by an uncertain legend of Jewish origin,² partly by the existence of an ancient cemetery north of the three towers, and partly by a fancied connection between Golgotha and Golgi suggested by the temple? The solution proposed above is put forward with some hesitation as an alternative to the improbable view that the Bishop simply made a guess at the site, and that his identification was accepted at once, and without question, by Hebrew, Greek, Latin, and Syrian Christians.

The history of the official identification of Golgotha and the Tomb is not fully known, and an attempt to reconstruct it is perhaps hazardous. But the importance attached by the Church historians of the latter part of the fourth and beginning of the fifth century to the action of the Empress Helena, and to the discovery of the Cross, seems to need some explanation. The statements in the early ecclesiastical histories must have had some foundation in fact, and the theory which seems best to meet the difficulties of the case may be stated as follows:—

1. After the Council of Nicaea Constantine, for motives to which allusion has already been made,³ commanded Macarius, who was then returning to Jerusalem, to search for the Cross of Christ.

2. The first step was to find the place of the Crucifixion, near which, under ordinary circumstances, the Cross would have been buried or cast aside. Macarius, after consultation with his suffragans, and after making inquiry amongst the native Christians

¹ See the statements by Sozomen, and Gregory of Tours (*Quarterly Statement*, 1903, pp. 147, 148), and the quaint Syrian legend given by Abu el-Faraj in his ecclesiastical history.

² *Quarterly Statement*, 1903, p. 56.

³ *Ibid.*, 1903, p. 145.

and Jews, came to the conclusion that Golgotha lay beneath the temple of Aphrodite.

3. Constantine, having been informed by Macarius of the result of this investigation, sent his mother, the Empress Helena, to Jerusalem with full power to demolish buildings and make the necessary search.

4. The Empress, on her arrival at Jerusalem, employed labourers and soldiers to clear away the temple of Aphrodite and its sub-structures. By this means a portion of the ancient Jewish cemetery, hitherto concealed from view, was uncovered, and a rock-hewn tomb,¹ prepared for the reception of a single body, was identified as that in which the body of Christ had rested. A spot on the terrace above² was at the same time assumed to be Golgotha.

5. Constantine, on being informed of the discovery, ordered the erection of a church which should enclose the Tomb. Meantime the excavations were continued with unabated vigour, and at last the three crosses, the nails, and the title, which had become separated from Christ's Cross, were found. The true Cross was then identified by its "life-giving" properties.

6. The Emperor, on hearing of the recovery of the Cross, wrote the letter preserved by Eusebius,³ in which Macarius was directed to build two churches with lavish magnificence.

7. The rock was cut away so as to isolate the Tomb and Golgotha, and the Anastasis, or Church of the Resurrection, and the Basilica, or Great Church,⁴ were built.⁵

The Second Wall.—The question whether the site of the Church of the Holy Sepulchre was inside or outside the second wall of Josephus is one which cannot, from want of space, be adequately discussed in the *Quarterly Statement*. It will be sufficient to state here that the course of the wall has not yet been certainly ascertained, and that, so far as the topographical features are concerned, the wall may have run so as to exclude or include the ground upon

¹ It has been suggested that the tomb was really a cave sacred to Adonis, but there seems no reason for the selection of an Adonisiac cave by Macarius when there were so many tombs close at hand. Nor is it likely that the builders of the temple of Aphrodite would have turned a Jewish tomb into a cave of Adonis.

² See below.

³ *Quarterly Statement*, 1903, pp. 143, 144. ⁴ *Ibid.*, 1903, p. 142, note 1.

⁵ The theory stated above is that of Clos, *Kreuz und Grab Jesu*, p. 7. slightly modified.

which the church stands.¹ From an archaeological point of view the question is equally uncertain, for there is no sufficient proof that the masses of masonry which are supposed to have formed part of the wall ever belonged to it. In some instances they almost certainly did not.

A strong argument in favour of the opinion that the site of the church was outside the wall is its selection by Macarius. The search for Golgotha and the Cross was ordered by the Emperor, and it may be regarded as a public work carried out by the State. Supposing that the remains of the wall were then visible,² is it at all likely that the Bishop and his advisers would have deliberately placed Golgotha inside the wall when every educated Christian knew that Christ had suffered "without the gate"? Would the higher clergy throughout the empire, who were at variance upon many points, have accepted without protest a site that was obviously impossible?³

On the other hand, it may fairly be urged that Josephus, who, in his description of the *first* and *third* walls, refers to places which they passed, would almost certainly have mentioned Golgotha in connection with the *second* wall if it had been a well-known spot, and so near a marked change of direction in that wall as it is usually assumed to have been.

Natural Features of the Ground covered by the Church of the Holy Sepulchre.—Is there anything in the nature of the ground upon which the church stands which renders it an impossible site for Golgotha and the Tomb? The rock was so cut away for the con-

¹ The view that a wall excluding the church would have a faulty trace is hardly to the point. There are several Greek towns in Asia Minor where the city walls or parts of them are quite as badly traced according to modern ideas. In ancient towns the Acropolis was the principal defence; the city wall was often weak.

² The curious and rather obscure reference of Cyril to the Tomb seems to place it between the "outer wall," apparently that of Hadrian, and the "ancient walls." "But where is the rock which has in it this cleft (or cave)? Lies it in the midst of the city, or near the walls and the outskirts; and is it in the ancient walls, or in the outer walls which were built afterwards? He says then in the Canticles (ii, 14), *In the cleft of the rock near the outer wall*" (*Cat.* xiv, 9; *Migne, Pat. Gr.* xxxiii, col. 833, translation in Pusey's *Liby. of the Fathers*).

³ The argument that the existence of a Jewish cemetery shows that the site was outside the second wall is not sound. Intra-mural burial was not uncommon in the time of the Jewish monarchy, and there is no trace of any aversion to it in the historical books of the Bible.

struction of Constantine's churches, and is so covered with rubbish and buildings in the vicinity of the present church, that its original form cannot be accurately ascertained. Originally the hillside must have risen up in a series of terraces of greater or less height according to the thickness of the strata¹; and there appear to be traces of two such terraces in the Church of the Holy Sepulchre and its immediate vicinity. The level of the upper terrace is marked by the top of the rock of Golgotha, and its vertical face, now cut away, evidently contained the entrances to several tombs.² Amongst these tombs that known as the "Tomb of Nicodemus,"³ and that in the Coptic Convent,⁴ north of the "Prison of Christ," are genuine Jewish tombs of not later date than the time of Christ. The first was entered on the level of the lower terrace, and a few steps led down to the second. Other tombs of which the form can no longer be traced were the present Holy Sepulchre, and possibly the "Tomb of Adam" and the "Prison of Christ."⁵ In the same terrace or in the one above it was probably the tomb of John the High Priest, which is mentioned by Josephus in connection with the siege by Titus. In front of these tombs was the level surface of the lower terrace, utilised as a garden,⁶ and probably planted with shrubs or trees. The vertical face of this terrace can be seen in the houses built against it on the west side of the street Khân ez-Zeit. So far then as the nature of the ground is concerned, there is nothing impossible in the view that Christ may have been crucified on the surface of the upper terrace (Golgotha) and buried in a tomb in its vertical face. A tomb in this position would be in the "place" Golgotha, and its entrance in "the garden" of the lower terrace.⁷

¹ *Quarterly Statement*, 1902, p. 284.

² Terraces with tombs in their vertical faces may be seen in the Valley of Hinnom, and elsewhere near Jerusalem.

³ For a description of this tomb and its tomb chambers see *P.F. Mem.*, Jerusalem Vol., pp. 319-329, and *Quarterly Statement*, 1877, pp. 76-84. 128-132; Clermont-Ganneau, *L'Authenticité du St. Sépulture*, 1877.

⁴ *Quarterly Statement*, 1877, pp. 154, 155.

⁵ These places and the two tombs mentioned are all on the same level.

⁶ The existence of the garden is attested by Cyril. "For though it be now adorned, and that most excellently, with royal gifts, yet it was before a garden, and the tokens and traces thereof remain" (*Cat.*, xiv, 5; Migne, *Pat. Gr.*, xxxiii. col. 829, translation in Pusey's *Liby. of the Fathers*).

⁷ The suggested relationship between the place of crucifixion and the tomb is seen in the photograph of tombs with terrace-garden (*Quarterly Statement*, 1902, p. 292). A man crucified on the upper terrace could easily be buried in one of the tombs beneath.

The form of the tomb of Joseph of Arimathea is unknown, and various attempts have been made to reconstruct it. A discussion of the whole subject would occupy more space than is available. My own view has always been that Joseph's tomb was an ordinary rock-hewn sepulchre in the vertical face of a rock terrace, with an entrance *ὄψα* of the usual form and size. The sepulchre probably consisted of an ante-chamber,¹ round which ran a low bench of the usual type, and of a tomb-chamber in which there was at the time one grave.² The ante-chamber was entered on the level from the terrace or garden outside, and an opening in one of its sides led to the tomb-chamber. There is nothing in the Bible to show whether the entrance to the Tomb had a vestibule, or whether the grave was a "bench" grave, an "oven" grave (*kok*), or a "trough" grave. The present "Holy Sepulchre" may have been either.³ The Body of Christ was probably laid on the bench of the ante-chamber until the Sabbath was over. There is no evidence that the entrance to the Tomb was closed by any mechanical contrivance such as a concealed rolling stone⁴ like that at the "Tombs of the Kings" near Jerusalem. It was probably closed, like most of the rock-hewn tombs, by a large stone, either carefully dressed and fitting into a reveal, or roughly hewn and rolled or pushed against the aperture.

(N.B.—*These papers will end next number with a short summary of the views of those who do not accept the traditional sites of Golgotha and the Tomb as genuine.*)

¹ It is not quite clear whether Cyril refers (*Cat.* xiv, 9) to an ante-chamber or to a vestibule when he writes that "the outer cave" had been cut away to allow of the decoration of the Holy Sepulchre.

² It may perhaps be inferred from the description of the Holy Sepulchre by Eusebius in the Theophania (see *Quarterly Statement*, 1903, p. 152) that there was only one grave in the traditional tomb.

³ See note on the Tomb of Nicodemus (*Quarterly Statement*, 1877, pp. 128-132).

⁴ According to Keim, the great stone of the Gospels was simply the Jewish Gölal, which is often mentioned by the Talmudists, *antiquam claudatur gölal super eo* (Buxt., p. 437). The words *προσ-κυλίω*, *ἀπο-κυλίω*, *ἀνα-κυλίω*, used by Matthew, Mark, and Luke, do not necessarily imply that the stone was shaped like a large choese, and was rolled backwards and forwards in a groove. Cyril's reference (*Cat.* xiii, 39) to the "stone which was laid on the door" (*ὁ ἐπιτεθείς τῇ θύρᾳ λίθος*) would hardly apply to a circular stone, and St. John's expression, "and seeth the stone taken away from the tomb" (xx, 1), is quite applicable to a roughly hewn stone.

THE SITE OF THE CHURCH OF ST. MARY AT JERUSALEM, BUILT BY THE EMPEROR JUSTINIAN.

By Colonel C. M. WATSON, C.B., C.M.G., R.E.

It appears to be generally assumed that the great basilica of St. Mary, which was built by Justinian in the sixth century, was situated somewhere in the Haram area near the site of the Temple of the Jews. Some writers place it at the spot now occupied by the Mosque of Aksa, while the late Mr. Fergusson was positive that it stood at the south-eastern corner of the Haram, overlooking the Valley of Cedron.

The study of another question in connection with ancient sites in Jerusalem directed my attention to the subject, and led me to examine into the reasons for assuming that the church was built in or near the Haram. The result of my investigation has brought me to the conclusion that it is improbable that the church was within the Haram, and that it is more likely that it was erected on Mount Sion in the southern part of the upper city, where the building called the Cenaculum and Tomb of David now stands. As the question is of considerable importance with reference to the study of the holy sites in Jerusalem, it may be of interest to give the evidence upon which my conclusion is based. In order that others may be able to check without difficulty the quotations on the subject that will be given, I shall only refer to the ancient authors, translations of whose works are given in the publications of the Palestine Pilgrims' Text Society, as this collection, which is sold by the Palestine Exploration Fund, is in the hands of many readers of the *Quarterly Statement*.

The author who has given the most detailed account of the basilica of St. Mary is Procopius, Prefect of Constantinople, who, about the year A.D. 560, wrote a description of the various buildings erected by the Emperor Justinian throughout his dominions. In the fifth book of this work he gives the following account of the construction of the Church of St. Mary¹ :—

“At Jerusalem he built a church in honour of the Virgin, to which no other can be compared. The inhabitants call it the ‘New

¹ *Palestine Pilgrims' Texts*, vol. ii. “Procopius,” p. 138.

Church.' I shall describe what it is like, prefacing my account by the remark that the city stands for the most part on hilly ground, which hills are not formed of earth, but are rough and precipitous, so as to make the paths up and down them as steep as ladders. All the rest of the buildings in the city stand in one place, being either built upon the hills or upon flat and open ground; but this church alone stands in a different position, for the Emperor Justinian ordered it to be built upon the highest of the hills, explaining of what size he wished it to be, both in width and in length. The hill was not of sufficient size to enable the work to be carried out according to the Emperor's orders, but a fourth part of the church, that towards the south wind and the rising sun, in which the priests perform the sacred mysteries, was left with no ground upon which to rest. Accordingly those in charge of the work devised the following expedient: they laid foundations at the extremity of the flat ground and constructed a building rising to the same height as the hill. When it reached the summit, they placed vaults upon the walls and joined the building to the other foundations of the church; so that this church in one place is built upon a firm rock, and in another place is suspended in the air—for the power of the Emperor has added another portion to the (original) hill. The stones of this substruction are not of the size which we are accustomed to see; for the builders of this work, having to contend with the nature of the ground, and being forced to raise a building equal in size to a mountain, scorned the ordinary practices of building and betook themselves to new and altogether unknown methods: they cut blocks of stone of enormous size out of the mountains which rise to vast heights in the neighbourhood of the city, cunningly squared them, and brought them thither in the following manner: they built wagons of the same size as these stones, and placed one stone upon each wagon. These wagons were dragged by picked oxen, chosen by the Emperor, 40 of them dragging each wagon with its stone. Since it was impossible for the roads leading into the city to take these wagons upon them, they made a passage for them by cutting deeply into the mountains, and thus formed the church of the great length which it was the Emperor's pleasure that it should have. After they had built it of a proportional width they were not able to put a roof upon it. While they were inspecting every grove and place which they heard was planted with tall trees, they discovered a thick

wood, producing cedars of enormous height, with which they made the roof of the church, of a height proportional to its length and width. These were the works which the Emperor Justinian constructed by human power and art, though assisted by his pious confidence, which in its turn reflected honour upon himself and helped him to carry out his design. This church required to be surrounded on every side with columns, such as in beauty would be worthy of the main building, and of a size capable of supporting the weight which would be laid upon them. However, the place, from its inland situation at a distance from the sea, and from its being entirely surrounded by the precipitous mountains which I have mentioned, rendered it impossible for the builders of the foundation to bring columns thither from elsewhere. While, however, the Emperor was grieving at this difficulty, God pointed out in the nearest mountains a bed of stone of a kind suitable for this purpose, which either had existed there in former times and been concealed, or was then created. Either story is credible to those who regard God as the cause of it ; for we, measuring everything by our human strength, think that many things belong to the region of the impossible, while for God nothing whatever is difficult or impossible. The church, thus, is supported by a great number of columns brought from this place, of very great size, and of a colour, which resembles flame, some below, and some round the porticos which encircle the whole church, except on the side turned towards the east. Of these columns, the two which stand before the door of the church are of very unusual size, and probably second to no columns in the whole world. Beyond them is another portico, named the Narthex (reed), I suppose because it is narrow ; after this is a court of square shape supported by columns of equal size, from this lead doors of such grandeur as to show those passing them what a spectacle they are about to meet with. Beyond this is a wonderful porch, and an arch supported on two columns of great height. Proceeding further, there stand two semi-circles, opposite to one another, on each side of the way to the church ; while on either side of the road are two hospices—the work of the Emperor Justinian—one of which is destined for the reception of strangers, while the other is an infirmary for the sick poor. The Emperor Justinian also endowed this Church of the Virgin with large revenues. Such were the works of the Emperor Justinian in Jerusalem.”

In this interesting description of the Basilica of St. Mary it is evident that Procopius wrote as a courtier, and did not altogether adhere to the truth. Anyone reading it would suppose that the idea of building the church was Justinian's, that he selected the site, and proposed the construction of the hospices; whereas, in truth, as I shall show later, he only completed a church that was already commenced, and the idea of building the hospices was suggested by another. The statement that Jerusalem is surrounded by mountains of vast height, and that the Emperor selected all the transport oxen can hardly be regarded as rigidly accurate. These, however, are small matters, and, viewed as a whole, the account is probably fairly correct.

It will be observed that the building is spoken of as the "New Church." This may mean that it was an entirely new building on a hitherto vacant site, or that it was a new church to take the place of an old one on the same site. This, in ordinary language, would be the meaning, and it appears to me from the history to be the more probable acceptance of the expression.

In utilising the description in order to fix the site of the building, the following points seem specially worthy of attention:—

- (a) The church was built on the highest of the hills in Jerusalem.
- (b) It was within the city, and, as it was impossible to bring the materials by the ordinary streets, it was necessary to cut a special road to the site to facilitate transport.
- (c) There was a quarry in the hill near the site, and apparently conveniently situated for bringing the stone by the excavated road.
- (d) The greater part of the church was on the level, but it was necessary to build up under the south-eastern part to bring it to the level of the rest of the building.

Assuming that the church was built, as generally supposed, in the southern part of the Haram area, let us see how these conditions would apply. The greater part of the area within the walls of Jerusalem consists of two hills—the western, on which, in old days, stood the upper city, and now known as Sion; and the eastern, on which was the Temple of the Jews, and which sloped down towards the south to the Pool of Siloam. There is also a third hill to the north, but as this was the site of the Holy Sepulchre

and its surrounding buildings at the time of Justinian as it now is, it is outside the present question. The height of the western hill varies from about 2,520 feet at the south to 2,540 feet above sea level at the north, whereas the height of the western hill at the summit is 2,440 feet, and at the Mosque of Aksa 2,418 feet above the sea. Speaking generally, therefore, the western hill is 100 feet higher than the eastern, and why Procopius should have stated so positively that the Church of St. Mary was built on the higher hill if he meant that it was built on the lower is a little hard to understand.

Secondly, if the church had been built near the south wall of the Haram, it is impossible to think why it should have been necessary to make a rock-cut road to the site so as to avoid bringing the stones through the city, as the material would naturally have been conveyed by the Valley of Cedron and would not have come through the city.

Then, as regards (c), we know of no quarry near the south wall of the Haram, but I would not lay too much stress on this, as of course there might be a quarry which is now concealed by rubbish.

Lastly, as regards (d), if the church had been on the site of the present Mosque of Aksa, no great raising of the ground would have been necessary. But this would have been necessary if the church had been at the south-east corner of the Haram enclosure, as suggested by Mr. Fergusson. For his arguments upon the subject I would refer the reader to his work, *The Temples of the Jews*.

If, on the other hand, it is assumed that the Basilica of St. Mary was on the southern part of Mount Sion on the site of the existing buildings known as the Cœnaculum or Tomb of David, the conditions already enumerated apply much better. In the first place, the church would have been on the higher hill, as stated by Procopius. Secondly, it would be within the city, and there is a rock-cut road from the outside of the city leading towards its south-eastern end. Full details of this road are given in Dr. Bliss's *Excavations at Jerusalem*, and its position and sections are illustrated by drawings.¹ The object of making this rock cutting has not hitherto been explained, but if it is the road spoken of by Procopius, the reason becomes quite clear. Thirdly, as regards (c), there is a quarry in the hill close to the outer end of the road

¹ *Excavations at Jerusalem*, p. 8.

which was thoroughly examined by Dr. Bliss, and is described in the *Excavations at Jerusalem*.¹

Lastly, as regards (*d*), as the ground to the east of the Cenaculum has not been explored, it is impossible to speak definitely, but there is no reason why the foundation should not have been laid as described by Procopius.

After carefully considering the argument on both sides as based on Procopius's account of the church, I think it is more probable that it was situated on Mount Sion than in the Haram.

I will now proceed to discuss the question as to the information on the subject to be derived from other authors. The earliest account of a visit to Jerusalem is that of the Bordeaux Pilgrim, who went to Palestine in the year 333 A.D. At that time the buildings at and near the Holy Sepulchre, which were constructed by Constantine, were just completed, and are shortly described by the Pilgrim. He also speaks of the site of the Temple of Solomon, but makes no mention of any church or Christian site in its vicinity. As regards Sion, he writes as follows²:—

“On this side one goes up Sion and sees where the house of Caiaphas the priest was, and there still stands a column against which Christ was beaten with rods.” The Pilgrim does not state whether there was or was not a church on Sion at that time.

Fifty years later, about A.D. 385, St. Sylvia made a pilgrimage to the Holy Land, and wrote a very full account of what she saw. Unfortunately, the earlier part of the work, in which she probably gave an account of Jerusalem, is lost; but we have her description of the religious services performed during the year, which gives much useful information. She mentions the Basilica of the Anastasis, or Holy Sepulchre; the great Basilica of Constantine, known as the Martyrium; and also frequently refers to a church on Sion. For example, she says³:—“On the Lord's Day—*i.e.*, Easter Day—after vespers at the Anastasis, all the people escort the bishop with hymns to Sion. When they have come there, hymns suitable to the day and place are sung, prayer is offered, and that place is read from the Gospel where on the same day the Lord entered in to the disciples when the doors were shut, in the same place where the church now is in Sion.” Again she says, speaking

¹ *Excavations at Jerusalem*, p. 12.

² *Palestine Pilgrims' Texts*, vol. i. “Bordeaux Pilgrim,” p. 23.

³ *Ibid.*, vol. i. “St. Sylvia,” p. 67.

of Pentecost¹:—"As soon as the mass is over in the Martyrium, all the people together escort the bishop to Sion with hymns, and they get to Sion when it is now the third hour. And when they have come there, that place from the Acts of the Apostles is read, where the Spirit descends so that all nations might understand the things that were spoken, and after that mass is celebrated in due order. For the priests read the passage from the Acts of the Apostles because the place is in Sion (there is another church there now) where once after the Lord's Passion a multitude was collected with the Apostles, when this happened of which we spoke above." It is evident, therefore, that in the time of St. Sylvia there was a church on Sion, and that it was regarded as a holy place. On the other hand, though she frequently speaks of processions passing between the Holy Sepulchre and the Mount of Olives, the route of which lay close to the site of the Temple, she never alludes to any church or holy place in the vicinity of the latter.

The account given by St. Sylvia is confirmed by the Holy Paula, who visited Jerusalem about the same time. She also makes no allusion to any church or holy place near the site of the Temple, but says that there was a church at Sion, of which she speaks as follows²:—

"Leaving that place (*i.e.*, the Holy Sepulchre), she ascended Sion, which signifies 'citadel' or 'watch-tower.' . . . There was shown a column supporting the portico of a church, stained with the blood of the Lord, to which He is said to have been bound and scourged. The place was shown where the Holy Spirit descended upon the souls of over 120 believers, that the prophecy of Joel might be fulfilled."

It will be observed that neither Sylvia nor Paula gives a name to the church, but both speak of it simply as the church at Sion.

The next document we have to examine is the letter of Bishop Eucherius to the priest Faustinus, giving a short account of Jerusalem and the neighbourhood. The date is uncertain, but it is believed to have been written about the middle of the fifth century. Eucherius describes Sion first, the holy places round the Holy Sepulchre second, and then the Temple area.

¹ *Palestine Pilgrims' Texts*, vol. i. "St. Sylvia," p. 69.

² *Ibid.*, vol. i. "Holy Paula," p. 6.

Of Sion he says¹:—"Mount Sion on one side, that which faces north is set apart for the dwelling of priests and monks; the level ground on its summit is covered by the cells of monks surrounding a church, which, it is said, was built there by the apostles out of reverence for the place of our Lord's resurrection; because, as promised before by the Lord, they were filled with the Holy Ghost." Of the Temple he writes:—"The Temple, which was situated in the lower part of the city near the city wall on the east side, and was splendidly built, was once a world's wonder, but out of its ruins there stands only the pinnacle of one wall, the rest being destroyed to their very foundations." There is not a word here of a church or place revered by Christians near the Temple.

Some time early in the sixth century and prior to Justinian, Theodosius wrote his short tract on the Holy Land. After speaking of the Sepulchre and Golgotha he goes on to say²:—"From Golgotha it is 200 paces to Holy Sion, the mother of all churches; which Sion our Lord Christ founded with his apostles. It was the house of St. Mark the Evangelist. From holy Sion to the house of Caiaphas, now the Church of St. Peter, it is 50 paces more or less. From the house of Caiaphas to the Hall of Pilate it is 100 paces more or less. There is the Church of St. Sophia. Hard by holy Jeremiah was cast into the pit. The pillar formerly in the house of Caiaphas, at which the Lord was scourged, is now in holy Sion. This pillar at the bidding of the Lord followed Him; and, as He clung to it, while He was being scourged, His arms, hands, and fingers sank into it, as if it were wax, and the marks appear to this day." It would appear, therefore, that from the time of the Bordeaux Pilgrim early in the fourth century up to the time of Justinian a group of churches and holy places had been growing up on Mount Sion, and that whereas the Pilgrim only mentions the house of Caiaphas and the pillar of the scourging as being there, there were at the beginning of the sixth century three churches, *i.e.*, the Mother Church of Sion, the Church of St. Peter, and the Church of St. Sophia. Up to the time of Justinian there appears to be no satisfactory evidence of the existence of any church within the Temple area.

(To be continued.)

¹ *Palestine Pilgrims' Texts*, vol. ii. "St. Eucherius," p. 8.

² *Ibid.*, vol. ii. "Theodosius," p. 10.

when circumstances led to my making a prolonged residence at Jaffa (from 1893-1900), that my notice was again drawn to the subject, and it dawned upon me that the tradition after all might not be altogether as worthless as I had supposed; and when on the occasion of Sir Charles Wilson's last visit to Palestine he did me the honour of calling upon me, I mentioned this to him. He suggested that it might be useful if I gathered all the information I could obtain on the subject and communicated the same to the *Quarterly Statement*. I now venture, therefore, to submit the following notes pending the time when more expert investigators and the results of excavation throw more certain light on the matter.

The very heavy rains of 1892-3 again caused the formation of a lake on the spot described. During the ensuing summer there was a great epidemic of malignant fever which carried off many people at Jaffa, and was attributed to the malaria caused by the evaporation from this large sheet of stagnant water. A ditch was dug to drain it off. I have marked this ditch on the map. Starting from the junction of the two roads coming from Selami, it runs for about 100 metres alongside the road to Jaffa and then turns northwards and westwards, reaching the sea by following the apparently natural hollow or groove that exists between the Moslem cemetery and the Saknet Rashid. I may remark in passing that during the last decade a large suburb has sprung up just north and in continuation of this "Saknet," and that when the foundations for the new houses were being prepared many remains of oil-mills were uncovered, corroborating the information given to Professor Clermont-Ganneau and noted in his *Archæological Researches*.

The rains of the following season (1893-4) were again very heavy. The lake once more appeared, and the ditch above described proved for some time inadequate for drainage and therefore had to be dug deeper and wider later on in the year. The water stood for a couple of days fully 2 feet deep for a good way all along and on either side of both of the roads leading to Selami, and one day I was obliged to wade through the flood in order to ascertain whether a fellow-worker whose dwelling was surrounded needed provisions, &c. In doing so I was up to my knees in water on the road itself. In order to obtain a good view and gain an idea of the extent of the inundation (which I

have marked with the dotted line upon the map) I went a few days later, after the water had somewhat subsided, to the top of the Russian church, and was immediately struck by the configuration of the land. Below me, in a great, long, broad, and shallow hollow, lay the swamp with reaches of its waters gleaming through open spaces amongst the orange groves, whilst to the west the buildings of Jaffa stood out boldly on a low hill and at the end of a ridge that ran, well sustained, with marked elevations or small heights, from the city southwards. Only to the north-west and north-north-west was the view seawards clear and unobstructed by higher ground. The lake lay in a sort of valley-basin or *thal-kessel*, which sloped northwards and slightly westwards to the sea. The (American) German colony lay on higher ground just beyond the northern edge of the submerged tract.

This survey of the general situation placed the question before me in a new and interesting light, and inquiries amongst natives and old residents elicited the information that a great many years ago old people had related that they had heard of boat anchors having been dug up in the "Bassah," as the lowest part of the hollow is called, and further, that some years ago when the owners of the land wanted to sink a well, they had at various points struck upon portions of what was supposed to have been a massive sea wall built with somewhat of a curve as if intended to surround or limit a large pool or sheet of water. In sinking shafts in different places through the rich water-deposited soil which forms the bed of the swamp, they went down to a great depth (11 metres, say 35 feet 9 inches) without reaching sand, which in other places near Jaffa is always at a short distance below the surface, and finally they were compelled to give up the search because the sides of the shafts, which were not cased with mining frames and were very narrow, seemed dangerous and liable to fall. The present surface of the tract on which the lake formed is, as I was told by the German colony surveyor, Herr Frank, and also by Mr. Serapion Murad, to whose family the property belongs, only 2 metres 60 centimetres (about 8 feet 6 inches) above sea level. It follows, therefore, that the original bed was considerably below the level of the sea, and it seems, therefore, not impossible that there may have been here, at some period or other, perhaps in prehistoric times, an inland lagoon or swamp, perhaps connected with the sea by a narrow channel, up which small vessels may have passed to find shelter in stormy

weather, just as at the present day fishing-boats seek for shelter in the Anjeh, about three miles to the northward.

The mention of the Anjeh leads me to the remark that an examination of the general features of the seaboard of Palestine shows us a configuration repeated frequently, sometimes on a very large and bold scale, at others on a smaller one. Thus the Anjeh itself drains a large depression like that I have described, and that this depression was at one time covered with swamps or a lake is proved by the fact that Dr. Chaplin discovered the remains of a great rock-hewn tunnel that was in ancient times constructed in order to draw off the water. Then a short distance north of Arsûf we have the same thing, as also at Hadherah, south-east of Cæsarea, and so on further north. The salient features are ridges or promontories more or less emphasised, with a plain or valley running behind them and sloping seaward. Examples are: Beirût, with the plain behind and a river draining the latter; and, on a gigantic scale, the Carmel range, with the plain of Esdraelon and the Kishon. Sometimes the promontory or ridge is continued seaward by one or more islands, or, where these have disappeared, by a line of rocks more or less submerged. As examples I may cite Tripolis and Tyre, and, as I hope to be able to show, also Jaffa.

I can now go a step further. In the foregoing remarks I have used the term prehistoric with reference to the traditional harbour at Jaffa, my reason being that I know of no old record in which its existence is mentioned. We have very early descriptions of Jaffa and its surrounding sand-dunes and gardens. Surely if there had been an inland harbour we should have expected to find it mentioned. On the other hand the descriptions that have come down to us seem in most respects to tally with present conditions, though indeed we may infer from allusions here and there that during the lapse of centuries certain changes must have taken place in the state of the shore line. One of the best of these descriptions is that of Josephus (*Wars*, III, ch. ix, § 3), who gives a striking account of the taking of the pirates' nest by Vespasian, and the destruction of their vessels by a storm. The narrative is so graphic that it would serve for the report of shipwrecks at Jaffa at the present day, *except in one detail*, a very significant and important one, which will not fit into the present state of things. Josephus states that the vessels were destroyed by the north wind, which was so dreaded and dangerous that it was called

"the black north wind." This is not the case nowadays. The north wind is indeed feared at Jaffa, not because it endangers shipping, but because of its poisonous qualities, it having been often noticed that a general outbreak of fever is sure to follow whenever it blows, the supposed reason being that it sweeps the malaria and exhalations from the northerly marshes down to Jaffa. At the present day it is not the north, but the west, and more particularly the south-west wind which is so dangerous to ships that they prefer to go past or to cruise in the open sea rather than approach the shore. This observation, which I have frequently made, led me to suspect that since the time of Josephus some change must have taken place in the direction of the shore line, and I was led to examine it more closely than I should otherwise have done. The following are notes I made on this point:—

Being an inland sea open only to the west, there is no tide to speak of, if, indeed, any at all in the Mediterranean, but, nevertheless, there is often a very marked difference in sea-level both within and outside the present harbour. It occurs always, as others beside myself have noticed (*see Z.D.P.V.*, vol. iii, p. 44), after the east wind has blown for several days, and then there is a difference of from 4 to 6 feet in the level of the water-surface, and the whole top of the reef enclosing the harbour is laid bare and dry, so that stepping on to it from the spot where it touches the shore at the southern end of the bathing place south of the town, it is possible to walk dry-shod, and even, by now and then jumping over narrow water channels, to reach and examine its outer edge for a great part of its extent. I have done this several times, and was surprised to find that there were several artificial rock-cuttings on its surface, which leads one to think that at one time there must either have been a quarry there, or that it had been purposely hewn in order to have huge stones fitted firmly into it. Further up the coast, when riding from Caesarea to Jaffa, I noticed something of the same kind in one or two other places, where the rocks, now generally covered by the waves, look, when exposed, as if at one time or other tombs had been cut in them. If so, they must, at some period or other, have been considerably higher above sea-level than they are at present.

On the other hand, at a very little distance south of Jaffa, at a spot between the bathing place and Bir el-Helweh, it appears

that where part of the shore is now several feet higher than the sea it must at one time have been submerged beneath it, as there are distinct remains, not only of the common sandy tufa rock mixed with shells, but of a stratum of solid shell-bed (*muschelbank*). It seems justifiable, therefore, to suppose that changes must have taken place at one time or another in the conditions of the shore owing to volcanic or other agencies. Earthquakes are not infrequent in the East. During the eleventh century of our era many devastated Egypt and Syria, and about 1068, as we are informed by the Arab historians (*see* Besant and Palmer, *History of Jerusalem*, p. 119), "the sea suddenly receded for the distance of a day's journey, but on the inhabitants of the neighbourhood taking possession of the reclaimed land, it suddenly returned and overwhelmed them, so that an immense destruction of life ensued."

Besides the above we have at least one other historical allusion which we can quote as proving that a change must, even during so recent a period as the last 700 years, have taken place in the appearance of the coast at Jaffa.

In reading the accounts by contemporary writers of different sieges and occupations of the place during the Crusading period, first by the forces of Godfrey in 1099 A.D., then by Richard and Saladin in 1192, and lastly by the army of St. Louis of France in 1253, we cannot overlook the important fact that the chroniclers clearly distinguish between "the town" and "the citadel" (compare William of Tyre, viii, 9, as quoted in Smith's *Bible Dictionary* [1863], vol. i, p. 1125; Vinisauß, in Bohn's *Chronicles of the Crusades*, pp. 312, 313; and Bohaeddin, *Life of Saladin*, *Pal. Pilgrims' Text Society*, chapters 164 and 165, pp. 365-370. Now the importance of this distinction, which the casual reader is apt to overlook, lies in the circumstance that the citadel was not a part of the town itself, and did not occupy, as one might suppose, the site of the former *kul'a* on the top of the hill where the Franciscan church now stands commanding the present harbour, but in a different and isolated position. It is thus described by one who saw it: "It resembled a well-defended town, *and was situated on an island*"—the italics are my own—"near the sea-shore. . . . Adjacent to the castle was a village which the king (St. Louis) began to fortify and enclose wherever the shore would permit it. He did this at great cost, enclosing the town from one side of the sea to the other," &c. Of this island, which must have been of a fair size, there is now not

a trace left, unless the isolated rock on the northern side of the well-known narrow passage through the reef into the present harbour be a vestige of it. I have marked the place where I suppose the island to have stood on the map.

NOTES ON SOME RUINS AND A ROCK-CUT AQUEDUCT IN THE WÂDY KUMRÂN.

By Dr. E. W. G. MASTERMAN.

IN traversing the Wâdy Kumerân on my road to 'Ain Feshkhah in March last I passed two points of interest—

1. *Khurbet Abu Tabak*.¹—In the plain called *El Buḡeia* near to the important and well-worn road that traverses the plain from north to south I came to a place called *Abu Tabak*. My guide called it *Umm Tabak*, but afterwards when I told him the name in the map was *Abu Tabak*, he acknowledged that this was the usual form.

Here there are (1) a small cemetery evidently of antiquity, the appearance of the graves being very similar to those at *Khurbet Kumerân*, (2) a cave, and (3) some ruins. The cave, known as *Mugharet Abu* (or *Umm*) *Tabak*, lies on the north side of a low hill; it runs north to south, and is largely, if not entirely, artificial. It is 116 feet long, $17\frac{1}{2}$ feet wide at its widest, that is about half-way in, and probably is about 20 feet high throughout. The floor is piled up with goats' dung to the height of several feet, so it is difficult to say how far the floor has been levelled throughout, but the general shape is regular. At the extreme inner end there is a hole at the top of the accumulated dirt which may lead into an inner part. My man put his gun in as far as he could without touching rock. The right side of the cave shows tool-marks where the walls have been smoothed, and at two places there are recesses for lamps. Close to the entrance on this side of the cave there is a place where my Bedawin guide declared the Arabs had cut away an inscription—or what they took for an inscription. There are signs that something has been cut away, and beside this place are two marks—not letters—consisting of parallel lines each 4 inches long, $\frac{1}{4}$ inch deep, and $1\frac{1}{2}$ inches apart, evidently artificial, but also probably modern; the rock is too soft to make it a likely place for the long preservation of any cutting.

On the top of the isolated hill in which the cave lies, there are the foundations of a wall 4 feet thick, made of large stones, and standing in places to the height of three courses above the ground. They completely

¹ Apparently the *Kurm Abu Tubk* of *The Memoirs*, vol. iii, p. 213.

enclose an area, practically the whole top of the hill—about 170 feet by 80 feet. At a slightly lower level to the east, and joining on to the first enclosure, there is a smaller enclosed area about 40 feet square. On the highest point of the hill are some ill-defined ruins. My guide pointed out some lines of ruined walls on the hill slopes around which he said belonged to vineyards that once existed there.

The whole remains, the ruins, the cave, and the graves, suggest that there was once a guard station here for the protection of the important road which traverses the *Bukria* from Jericho and the Jordan to Mar Sâba, 'Ain Jidy, Masada, &c. This plain is now every summer such a



FIG. 1.—View on the road down the side of the Wady Kumerân.

haunt of robbers that the road can only be traversed by well-armed parties; in the winter the *Abideyeh* Arabs encamp all over it.

2. *Rock-cut Aqueduct in the Wady Kumerân.*—The descent from the *Bukeia* to the remains known as Khurbet Kumerân is by an exceedingly rough path down which a horse can only be led with difficulty, but there are evidences that at one time much labour has been expended on making a mountain road suitable for horses and mules. On reaching the plateau of marl on which, at a quarter of a mile to the east, lies the Khurbet Kumerân, an aqueduct¹ may be seen running from the hills almost direct towards the ruins for a distance of upwards of 400 yards.

¹ Referred to in my paper on this district, *Quarterly Statement*, 1902, p. 161.

What appears on the surface is but a parallel row of stones, the water channel having silted up to the level of the surrounding ground. I made further investigation and found, what I believe has not been previously reported, that this built-up channel is but the continuation of a rock-cut aqueduct which begins in the kind of amphitheatre¹ formed



FIG. 2.—Open rock-cut Aqueduct in Wâdy ẖumrân, near the beginning. Gun is placed in the channel.

when the Wâdy ẖumrân abruptly empties itself from the high ground to the level of the 'Ain Feshkhab oasis. Down this series of precipices all

¹ Described by M. de Saulcy as "a circular cavity, resembling a crater." *The Dead Sea* (Eng. ed.), vol. ii, p. 42.

the drainage of the *Bukeia* empties itself after heavy rain in a series of cascades. The aqueduct commences at the foot of one of these cascades—not the central great one but a smaller one to the north. From the natural, somewhat funnel-shaped beginning the aqueduct runs for 60 feet as an open rock-cut channel, it then traverses for about 40 feet a rock-cut tunnel now blocked up at both ends; thence it runs about 30 feet along the side of the rock by what must have been a half built-up channel, one side being of natural rock, the other built up; this latter, the south side, has been almost entirely broken away, but the course is quite evident by the plaster along the rocks. On reaching this point the aqueduct passes through the rock once more. This tunnel, which can be traversed throughout, is 3 feet high, 2 feet wide, and 43 feet long. Like the rest of this aqueduct it is very winding. It is broken at the bottom, 11 feet from the entrance, at a point where the floor has been partially built up of stone, and another 12 feet along there is a small window, made probably accidentally, above the level reached by the water, looking to the south. This part of the aqueduct is in good repair, and much of the plaster is in position. Leaving the tunnel the aqueduct can be easily traced for some 50 feet, but from there till it reappears on the plateau, a distance of about 340 feet, it has been almost entirely destroyed, and can only be traced by means of fragments of the cement adherent to the cliffs. The total length from the source to the *birkei* among the ruins must be about half a mile.

It is improbable there was ever a spring in this part of the *Wâdy Kumrân*, and I think we are safe in assuming that this little aqueduct was made to fill with the winter rains the cistern or cisterns connected with the buildings now known as the ruin *Kumrân*. The surface-water on the marly plateau would not be good for this purpose, nor would the brackish water in the neighbouring springs of 'Ain Feshkhah, though drinkable, be grateful to permanent dwellers in the neighbourhood.

The 700 graves and the extensive ruins of Khurbet Kumrân offer a field for speculation as to their origin; it is evident that this carefully-constructed aqueduct and, I think we may add, the built-up road down the north side of the Wâdy and the ruins of Khurbet Abu Tabak are all closely connected with the unknown period, when this now entirely deserted corner of the Dead Sea was in no inconsiderable degree inhabited.

'AIN EL-KUŞ'AH.

By R. A. STEWART MACALISTER, M.A., F.S.A.

THIS curious rock-cutting is situated on the north side of the road from el-Bīreh to Beitīn. It is one of the most remarkable of the rock-cut waterworks in the Jerusalem district.

At the 'Ain the road runs at the foot of a perpendicular cliff, 15 feet in height. Above this is a smooth rock platform, about 11 feet 6 inches in average breadth, behind which the rock again rises up the hillside



FIG. 1.—Large Cistern in Lower Scarp, from the North-West.

though not so steeply as below. The various members of the system may therefore be described according as they are in the upper scarp, the platform, the lower scarp, or the pathway at the foot. The total length of the system is 150 feet.

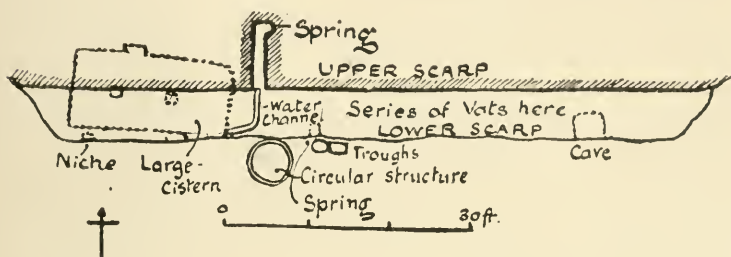
In the upper scarp the only detail is the channel from which some of the water issues. It is artificial, about 5 feet in height and 2 feet 6 inches in breadth; the length is 16 feet 4 inches. At the inner end it turns round at right angles into a small, low, roughly circular chamber about 5 feet in diameter. The direction of this passage is almost north and south (compass reading 170 degrees, facing the entrance).

On the platform are cut a series of shallow vats, round and square, some of them connected by channels. These are usually found about important sources of water supply, and no doubt were made for watering cattle, washing clothes, and similar purposes. The vats in the present example, however, are less deep than usual. Besides the vats, there is cut a long, deep channel, continuing the watercourse from the rock-cut tunnel already described. This runs straight across the platform, and then turns abruptly westward. It carried water down to the cistern in the lower part of the system.

The various members of the lower scarp and the pathway may be taken together. They are (proceeding from west to east)--

(1) A small niche in the rock.

(2) A large cistern, 24 feet 9 inches broad, 37 feet 3 inches long, and between 6 and 7 feet high. The roof is supported by two square pillars. The walls show remains of plastering. The cistern was once



Sketch-plan of 'Ain el Kus'ah-

closed up to the top, and contained deep water, as water lines remain on some fragments of the plaster, but now a large irregular doorway has been broken in the south-west corner, and a small channel cut through the rock underneath it, so that the cistern cannot contain more than about 1 foot 6 inches depth of water. The floor is covered to a depth of about 1 foot with soft mud. The walls and pillars are covered with a luxuriant growth of maiden-hair fern.

In the north wall of this cistern there is a cruciform recess, about 4 feet wide and 2 feet deep, extending the whole height of the excavation. Water drips slowly from the roof in this recess, and possibly also rises from the floor. There is apparently a spring in connexion with the cistern, but, owing to its gentleness and to the mud deposit on the floor, it is impossible to determine where it is with exactness. There is also a hole broken through to the channel running from the tunnel in the upper scarp, but it is almost choked, and water merely trickles through it.

(3) In the middle of the path is a curious circular structure, built (not rock-cut), 11 feet 9 inches in diameter. One row of stones only remains,

fair-faced on the inside surface. It is impossible without excavation to tell what this may be : it is possibly the mouth of a large cistern at a yet lower level, which had been filled up before the path took its present direction. The channel from the tunnel in the upper scarp appears intended to direct water to this supposed cistern.

(4) In the face of the cliff is cut a small tunnel into which it is just possible to enter ; out of this flows a stream of water that takes its rise at the end of the tunnel (about 4 feet from the face of the scarp) in a small fissure in the rock. The water falls into a trough, and is conveyed thence into a second : the first trough is oval, the second rectangular. They are beside the pathway, and are used for watering cattle. From the second trough the water flows away over the surface of the ground.

(5) The last detail of the system is a small, square cave cut in the face of the rock, at the eastern end of the scarp.

There is no indication whatever of the date of the rock-cuttings.

My attention was first directed to this spring by Dr. Peters, of New York, who visited it with Mr. Hanauer. It does not seem to have ever been fully described, though Mr. Hanauer (who has referred to it in the *Quarterly Statement* of last January, p. 80) tells me it has been mentioned by different writers under different names—‘Ain el-Ghazal, ‘Ain el-Haramiyeh, and ‘Ain el-Ḳassis. The last is the name under which it is denoted in the Ordnance Map : there is no reference to it in the accompanying memoir. The true name, as Mr. Hanauer informed me, and as I verified by several inquiries on the spot, is عَيْنُ الْقَصْعَةِ ‘Ain el-Ḳuṣ‘ah, the “spring of the pot”—possibly referring to the circular foundation in the middle of the pathway.

GREEK AND LATIN INSCRIPTIONS.

THE Rev. J. E. Hanauer sends squeezes of three small Greek and Latin inscriptions, for the readings of which we are indebted to Canon Hicks :—

1. A Greek inscription on a small marble slab, rather prettily carved, broken in several pieces, but now forming part of the floor of a room in the “Friends’ Boys’ School” at Rāmallah. It is of unequal length, one side being 1·65 cm. long, and the other 1·20 cm. only. The breadth is 54 cm., the diameter of circular panels 27 cm. Mr. Hanauer remarks that the stone, which was shown to him by Mr. Grant, the Principal, is said to have been brought from Deir Diwān. It reads :—

† Ὑπὲρ ἀναπαύσεως Σηλάμωνος πρεσβ(υτέρου).

“For the repose of Selamon, a Presbyter.”

Canon Hicks adds that the monument looks like part of a sarcophagus, and that the writing is probably of the third century A.D.

2. *Two Latin Epitaphs.*—Mr. Macalister, who also sends drawings and readings, states that the Latin inscriptions were found in the grounds of St. George's College, at Jerusalem, in the course of digging to make a cistern. They were associated with small tomb-chambers belonging to the same necropolis as that containing the painted tomb described some years ago by Mr. Dickie (*Quarterly Statement*, 1896, pp. 305-310). The tombs were of no special interest. The slabs are now preserved in the reading room of St. George's College, and the drawings and descriptions we owe to the kindness of the Right Rev. Bishop Blyth:—

| | | |
|-----|-------------------|--|
| (a) | D. M. | D(is) M(anibus). |
| | TARQVITIAE | Tarquitiae |
| | SEVANILLAE | Silvanillae. |
| | VIXIT MENS. IX... | Vixit mens(es) ix... |
| | PATER EIVS. C | Pater ejus f(aciendum) c(reavit), or f(e)c(it). |

"To the sacred shades of Tarquitia Silvanilla. She lived ix . . . months. Her father had (the tomb) made."

| | | |
|-----|---------------------|------------------|
| (b) | D. [M.] | D(is) M(anibus). |
| | M ⁱ LORI | Manius Lori... |
| | VIXIT A[N] | Vixit a(n). |
| | | |

"To the sacred shades. Manius Lori . . . lived . . . years . . ."

(a) is a limestone slab, 12½ inches long, 9½ inches broad, 2¼ inches thick; (b) is a fragment of a slab of limestone more compact than the material of (a).

NOTICES OF FOREIGN PUBLICATIONS.

Revue de l'Orient latin, tome ix, Nos. 1, 2, 1902.—A. Carrière, "La Rose d'Or du Roi d'Arménie, Léon V." E. Blochet, "L'histoire d'Égypte, de Makrizi, version française," a French translation from the Arabic text with historical and geographical notes; the instalment covers the period from the thirteenth year of Saladin to the nineteenth year of el-Melek el-'Adil. Gaston Paris, "Les Mémoires de Philippe de Novare." C. A. Garufi, "Le Donazione del Conte Enrico di Paternò al Monastero di S. Maria di valle Giosafat." J. van den Gheyn, S.J., "Lettre de Grégoire IX concernant l'Empire latin de Constantinople." The important bibliography of works and periodicals is continued.

Recueil d'Archéologie Orientale, vol. V, parts 19-21.—In § 48, "Fiches et Notules," M. Clermont-Ganneau deals with the identification of place-names in the inscription of Bodashtart at Sidon (*see Quarterly Statement*, 1903, p. 181). § 49, "Inscription gréco-palmyrénienne d'Égypte," is a

proposed restoration of an inscription found by Professor Petrie at Denderah. § 50, "Inscriptions grecques de Djerach," remarks on two inscriptions from Jerash, copied by Dr. Schumacher and the late Dr. Kiepert. § 51, "Sur deux Épitaphes puniques." § 52, "La Notion de la Sainteté chez les Sémites," notes on Baudissin's work on the same subject, which deal with ear-rings and the slaves of the divinity, sacred rivers, trees, mountains, and caves. M. Clermont-Ganneau proposes to read [*Na*]har hab-ba'alāh, the "river of Baalāh," for *har hab-ba'alāh*, "Mount Baalāh," in Josh. xv, 11, as there is no mountain on the coast of Judea. He also holds that the Shicron of the same passage is not a town but a river, the Nahr Sūkereir. With reference to the tree planted by Abraham at Beersheba (Gen. xxi, 33), attention is drawn to the modern custom amongst the *fellahin* of planting a tamarisk to mark a disputed boundary. § 53, "La 'Porte de Nicanor' du Temple de Jerusalem." A translation has been published in *Quarterly Statement*, 1903, pp. 125-130.

Revue Biblique, vol. xii, No. 2.—P. A. Jaussen, "Contumes Arabes, III," a continuation of papers on Arab customs from experience amongst the Bedawin of Moab. Amongst herbs used medicinally the *karīheh* is said to be more efficacious in fever cases than quinine. Remarks on sacrifice in cases of serious epidemic or severe drought; on the curious boat-shaped saddle (*merkab*) in which the daughter of the sheikh of a Bedawī tribe rides to battle, on a camel; the preparation of food for the genius of a new camping ground; the sanctity of an oath amongst the Bedawīn; and ancestor worship. J. Manfredi, "Callirhoé et Baarou." The geographical mosaic of Medeba shows that the hot springs in the Wādy Zerka Mā'in, which are usually identified with Callirhōe, are really the springs of Baarou (the *Baaras* of Josephus), and that 'Ain Šara, which pours its waters directly into the Dead Sea, is Callirhōe. The road from the spring to Herod's fortress of Machaerus can still be traced. The evidence of the Mosaic map is confirmed by the statements of Josephus, Eusebius, and Peter the Iberian, who lived towards the end of the fifth century. R. P. Vincent, "Notes d'Épigraphie Palestinienne." A fragment of an Arab milestone, the seventh from Elia, erected by 'Abd el-Melik, found in a mediæval building near the church at Abu Ghosh by the Benedictines. An inscribed tombstone from Beersheba bearing the name of a certain *Καιουμος Αιλησιος*, who died in the year 344 of Eleutheropolis = A.D. 543. Several new inscriptions have been found at Beersheba by Fathers Jaussen and Abel, one apparently forming part of the imperial rescript found by Mr. Macalister (*Quarterly Statement*, 1902, pp. 236, 270 *sqq.*). R. P. Savignac, "Le haut-lieu de Pétra," an excellent description of the "high place" of Petra (*see Quarterly Statement*, 1900, pp. 350 *sqq.*), with plans, sections, and photographs. The "high place" was sacred from an early period, and assumed its present form in the reign of Aretas IV (B.C. 9-A.D. 40). The deity worshipped was Dushara (Dusares); the two obelisks were probably of the type of the

obelisks, pillars, or columns placed at the entrances to sacred buildings, of which there are many examples in Egypt, Phœnicia, and Syria, *e.g.*, Jachin and Boaz at the gate of the Temple; one of the altars was for the slaughter of the victims, the other for libations or burnt offerings.

Das heilige Land, vol. xlvii, part 1.—Professor Sellin, "Ausgrabungen in Palästina," a short account of his excavations at Taanach. Work was commenced on the 10th March, 1902, and 150 workpeople were employed. Three towers—one Canaanite, one early and one late Israelite—and an Arab castle were brought to light; amongst the small objects found were lamps, vessels of earthenware, weapons, and a few scarabs. Near one tower the remains of about 30 children were found, buried in jars as at Gezer, and not far from them a Canaanite rock-altar. There were also uncovered two libation columns, and a whole street of sacred columns. In the houses were found large numbers of images of the Canaanite naked Astarte; and under the houses were discovered the remains of infants and of adults who had been buried when the houses were built. An altar of burned clay was found in 41 fragments, which were put together. On two sides were cherubim and lions, on another the tree of life with two stags, and on a fourth a man strangling a snake. The altar is said to be of Israelite times, but this and other conclusions of Professor Sellin must be accepted with caution until a full account of his work is published, with plans and notices of the depths at which the various objects were found.

Palaestina, vol. i, parts 3 and 4.—There are articles on the present position of the Jewish colonies in Palestine; on the need of a theoretical preparation for the colonisation of Palestine; on gum arabic from Palestine; and on the future of the silk industry in Palestine, a valuable contribution, with statistics of the cocoons raised, exported, and used locally, and the prices obtained. There is also a record of the progress of silk cultivation in Palestine.

Mittheilungen und Nachrichten des Deutsche Pal. Vereins, 1901, Nos. 3-6.—H. Lucas, "Griechische Inschriften aus Gerasa"; and "Repertorium der griechischen Inschriften aus Gerasa." 1902, Nos. 1, 2, Professor Kautzsch; an appreciative obituary notice of the late Dr. Conrad Schick. Professor Dr. Sellin, "Kurzer Bericht über die Ausgrabung von Ta'anek" (Nos. 1 and 2); copies of the reports of Dr. Sellin to the Vienna Academy on his excavations at Taanach (*see above*). Dr. Schumacher, "Unsere Arbeiten in Ostjordanlande, V," a continuation of Dr. Schumacher's letter from 'Ajlûn, with illustrations.

C. W. W.

NOTES AND QUERIES.

1. *Hebrew Inscription at Fik* (see p. 185).—Professor A. Büchler, of Vienna, in a letter dated April 30th, proposes to read **הואנה** for **הנה** · **יה**. The inscription will then run :—

אנה יהודה הואנה
“I am Jehudah the *hazzān*.”

The **הון**, here written with **ס** to indicate the long *ā*, and in the emphatic state with **ה** as in **הנה**, was a well-known official from the time of the second temple onwards (Levy, *N.H.W.B.*, 2, p. 29b; Kohnt, 3, pp. 357b *sqq.*; Weinberg, *Monatsschrift f. Gesch. Wissens. Jul.*, 1897, p. 659; Schürer, *Gesch. Volk. Isr.*, third ed., 2, p. 441). Such officials held important posts in the synagogues of Palestine, and even of Alexandria; they were learned men, and were sometimes teachers of children. The *hazzān* also acted in a judicial capacity. Dr. Büchler points out further that the *hazzān* corresponds to the “attendant” (ὑπηρέτης)¹ of Luke iv, 20, to whom Jesus handed the roll after He had read the selection from the prophet Isaiah in the synagogue of Nazareth. The name is identical with the ἄξαρῆτης of Cilicia in the fourth century.

Judah of Fik, Professor Büchler concludes, was consequently either a synagogue attendant or some judicial authority.

2. *Tombstone of John de Valence*.—In former issues of the *Quarterly Statement*—for instance, that for April, 1887, p. 78—there are references to the Crusading tombstone with the epitaph of John of Valence (Johs de Valencinis). Whilst reading the Crusading Chronicles in order to put together the enclosed notes on Jaffa, I have come across two suggestive names :—

- (1) Sir John de Vallance, highly commended by Joinville (*Memoirs*, Bohn’s edition, pp. 474, 475, 476), A.D. 1250, and
- (2) Sir John de Valenciennes, mentioned by Joinville in his account of the battle at Banias, A.D. 1253.

Is it likely that these names are identical and belong to the same person, and, if so, is it possible that the tombstone in question, which is now to be seen amongst the antiquities at St. Anne’s Church, Jerusalem, was his?

J. E. HANAUER.

¹ The ὑπηρέτης recurs in later inscriptions (Schürer, *op. cit.*, 2, p. 441; *Gemeinderfassung*, 28 *sqq.*).

3. *Hebrew Inscription from Gezer.*—The short Hebrew inscription unearthed by Mr. Macalister ranks among the most interesting of his discoveries made during the last quarter. At the same time it constitutes a puzzle which, if the fragmentary state of the sancer does not enable us to solve, at least deserves a few provisional remarks by way of introduction. Unfortunately the figure (p. 204 above) is not enough to enable one to read the characters with certainty, and we cannot therefore be sure whether the ר in the second line should not be ד and whether the last character in the first line is a ר or ד. That the ר should have an open head is, however, not unprecedented in Hebrew (*cf.* סריה, Levy, No. 5). Mr. Macalister's נ in the first line is probably correct; the alternative is ב, which has this characteristic form only in the Aramean alphabets. The form of the ק is also Aramaic, but it is found upon the coins of Simon the Maccabee. The inscription may be read, therefore—

(ב)(ר)
 ל . . . ב ב ד
 (ד)
 ק ר י נ

Broken letters are surmounted by a dot, and alternative readings are superimposed upon those which are more probable. The double line in the middle is characteristic of Israelite seals, but the letters themselves do not easily suggest Israelite names. Two or three letters are wanting at the commencement of each line, and consequently ל may be the end of a name followed by בן, "son." Although the inscription is not particularly ancient, it is extremely questionable whether one may seek to discover the well-known Baechides in either the first or the second line (בבד, ב[ב]קדין). But it is difficult to make a satisfactory suggestion. The analogy of other similar inscriptions leads one to expect:

- (a) To (ל) — son of —.
 (b) To — son of —, the (scribe, priest, &c.).

Both "to" and "son of" are occasionally omitted. דין in the second line might be taken to mean "judge," but we miss the definite article. On the other hand, if [בז]קדין is restored it might be permissible to think of a denominative of קֶרֶן, "horn," as though "the trumpeter." Or again, the second line may contain

a geographical designation, in which case one thinks of the Judean Kerioth (Josh. xv, 25). At all events, it is greatly to be hoped that Mr. Macalister may have the good fortune to discover other Hebrew remains of a similar character which may throw more light upon this puzzling find.

S. A. C.

4. *Mizpeh and Gath*.—The superb view from Nebi Samwil befits the only possible site (*Quarterly Statement*, 1882, p. 260) for Mizpeh (lit. "the watchtower") of Benjamin. In *Quarterly Statement*, 1898, pp. 169, 251, Tell Nasbeh (its letters resemble Mizpeh) is suggested. As, however, Ishmael departed to go *east* (Jer. xli, 10) we are not entitled to send him three miles *south-west* in order that he may approach "the great waters which are near Gibeon."

As Benjamin's Mizpeh had a panorama worthy of its name, so probably *the watchtower* of Judah (Josh. xv, 38) occupied a commanding height. I, therefore, accept Van de Velde's site at Tell es-Şâfiyeh, a conspicuous hill with a glittering white cliff, rising like an isolated block above the adjacent country.

At this tell Porter located Gath, but in *Quarterly Statement*, 1880, p. 171, I favoured Libnah, because it means *whiteness*. The wide view and present name, Tell es-Şâfiyeh (*clear* or *bright*), Heb. Mizpeh (LXX, *Μασσηφά*), the Crusaders' Alba Specula, or Blanche Garde—all connected—seem to form a chain which no argument can snap. The area which includes Lachish and Makkedah (Josh. xv, 37-41) easily embraces Mizpeh at Tell es-Şâfiyeh.

The new volume of "Excavations in Palestine" records old remains at this site, but offers no evidence of its being Goliath's Gath, which doubtless was *in* or near the plain marked "Nahiet el-Mejdel," controlling it, as Ekron would the plain south of it. The likeliest site for Gath seems to me to be Kh. Jelediye (Galatîu of the Crusaders), preserving the name of Goliath, who in the Koran is called *Gulât* or *Jalût*, while the Arabs called "the dynasty of the Philistines, &c.," *Galâtîah* or *Jalûtîah*. If Ashdod (140 feet) withstood Psammetichus 29 years, Jelediye (248 feet) surely was elevated enough to defy Israel before David's time.

Rev. W. F. BIRCH, M.A.

THE PALESTINE EXPLORATION FUND.

NOTES AND NEWS.

THE present number contains a report of the Annual General Meeting held on June 22nd, a short notice of which appeared in the July *Quarterly Statement*. The account of the results of the excavation at Gezer excited the greatest interest, and everywhere confidence was expressed that the report for the ensuing year would be as satisfactory as the last. Already this seems in a fair measure to be justified. Mr. Macalister's quarterly report shows that his unremitting labours continue to reward him with interesting discoveries, probably the most important of which is a rock-surface with cuttings and caves which appears to have been a sacred place of the aboriginal inhabitants. Some remarkable inscribed stones have been found, but nothing of considerable length, comparable to the Lachish tablet, or to the tablets which Dr. Sellin is reported to have unearthed at Taanach, has as yet come to light.

On the other hand, some valuable additions have been made to the lamp and bowl deposits, and Mr. Macalister's provisional theory of their origin (p. 307, *see* also Sir Charles Wilson's remarks, p. 288) should be carefully noticed. It is interesting to recall a Greek inscription from the Haurân, where mention is made of one whose grandfather was Beeliabos, father of Neteiros τοῦ ἀποθεωθέντος ἐν τῇ λέβητι ἐὶ οὗ αἱ [ἐ]ορταὶ ᾄθηνται. Professor Clermont-Ganneau, in the course of an illuminating discussion of these words (*Recueil d'Archéologie Orientale*, vol. ii., pp. 61-78), argues that the "apotheosis" of Neteiros was evidently some exceptional occurrence worthy of being recorded by a later member of the family, and suggests that Neteiros was doubtless a sacrificial victim. Whether this be well founded or not the evidence is certainly interesting enough to be taken into account in discussing the phenomena of the puzzling lamp and bowl deposits.

The special donations for the excavation of Gezer (*see Quarterly Statement*, pp. 97 *sq.*, 188) since the amount recorded in the last number comprise: Walter Morrison, Esq., J.P., £105; James Hilton, Esq., £20; Williamson Lamplough, Esq., £5 5s.; Professor George Adam Smith, £5 5s.—total, £410 3s. It will be remembered that about £2,000 is urgently required if the work of excavation is to be carried out to the finish, and with that thoroughness which the importance of the site and the success that has already attended the Fund's labours warrant.

The Palestine Exploration Fund will be represented in the Geographical and Exploration Section of the St. Louis Exhibition by the Great Survey of Western Palestine, the Old and New Testament Maps, and the large and small Raised Maps, and by the various publications of the Fund. There will also be exhibited casts of some of the more important inscriptions; and a separate feature will be made of the excavations at Gezer now in progress, of which a large plan has been prepared, and which will be further illustrated by enlarged photographs of the parts excavated, and by casts of some of the objects found during the excavations. Colonel Watson, R.E., a member of our Executive Committee, is appointed the British Commissioner.

Dr. Merrill writes that an effort is being made by the local government to increase the water supply at Ain el-Hôd, better known as the Apostles' Fountain, below Bethany, on the road to Jericho. The valley from the west drops down rapidly, and goes past the fountain eastward. The road comes down a steep grade round the foot of the hill, crosses the valley by a large culvert, and goes on between the fountain and the coffee shop. Starting from the fountain, and going up the valley on the right hand side as one faces west, 10 pits have been sunk, and at a distance of 300 feet from the fountain the covered pit or cistern was found. The shafts dug vary in depth from a few inches to 40 feet. That below and nearest the road is 22 feet. The aqueduct leading from the cistern is 17 inches wide and 14 inches deep at the start. These dimensions grow smaller as the fountain is approached. The walls of the aqueduct are coated with cement worn very smooth. In the bottom of the aqueduct there is a bed for a terra-cotta pipe. This aqueduct might be called a tunnel, but its smooth sides show that

it was designed to convey water, and so was the terra-cotta pipe which is nicely buried in the bottom. The concealed cistern or source in the hillside is 10 feet by 8 at the bottom, 30 feet deep to the spring of its arched roof, and the roof is 8 feet high, with several feet of earth above the top. The stones of the arched roof are small, and those at the bottom of the cistern are large. It is proposed to tap the cistern at the side by means of an iron pipe, lead the water horizontally to the side of the valley, which at that point resembles a V, and thence on the top of the ground along the bank of the *wady* to the fountain. There is some water in the cistern, which appears to come from the mountain above. How much the supply of water will be increased it is impossible to tell. Brought in an iron pipe on the top of the ground it certainly will not be cooler than it is at present. The work is not yet completed.

In reference to the scarabs found at Gezer, Professor Sayce writes that the first Egyptian scarab published in Plate II (*Quarterly Statement*, July, p. 212), and found in the third stratum at Gezer, bears the name of a king [Ra-] Kanefer. The name was that of several kings of the VIIth-Xth Egyptian dynasties, but the spiral ornamentation of the scarab belongs rather to the period of the XIIth-XVIIth dynasties, and the eighty-fifth king of the XIIIth dynasty, according to the Turin papyrus, was another Ra-Kanefer or Nefer-Ka-Ra.

The nineteenth scarab figured on the same plate and found in the cistern is a Hyksos one of well-known type. The inscription in the centre plays upon the name of the Hyksos Pharaoh *Khi-n-Ra*, and the common legend, *Ra n Ra*, "the Sun of the Sun," for which, in Semitic fashion, *Ren-n-Ren*, "the Name (Shem) of the Name," or *Ren-n-Ra*, "the Name of the Sun," is often substituted.

We learn from Mr. Hanauer (upon whom has recently been conferred the distinction of "Associate of St. George's Collegiate Church, Jerusalem") that the Moslem cemetery on the hillock of El-Adhemiyeh is now walled in and inaccessible. There has been a good deal of quarrying of stone, especially on the western side, in order to obtain materials for the enclosure-wall. This quarrying has quite altered the contours on the west, and the face-profile of the skull, as shown in former plans, is now altered.

Mr. Hanauer has kindly forwarded photographs of some objects that were dug up during the excavations carried on some years ago in front of the old rock-hewn tomb now popularly known as "Gordon's Garden Tomb." It will be remembered that the excavations were made upon a portion of the site of the old Asnerie or Donkey-house of mediæval times. The objects include limestone effigies of horses and horsemen, fuller particulars of which will be found below in "Notes and Queries" (p. 358).

Mr. Hanauer also contributes a supplementary note (p. 355 below) to his interesting article in the last number on the traditional "harbour of Solomon" at Jaffa. It is gratifying to learn from it that his suggestion regarding its position appears to be borne out by the actual results of excavation. With reference to the cistern at Neby Daûd (p. 191 above), he writes to confirm the discovery. Three of the skeletons were seated, leaning against the wall, and had evidently died in that attitude. He observes, however, that in the charnel-house (*ib.*) not every skeleton had three iron nails as at first described.

It is understood that the Russians are negotiating for the purchase of the place at Beit Sha'ar, where a mosaic inscription is said to have been recently discovered containing the names of John and Zacharias. Being about half-way to Hebron, it will be a convenient hospice for the Russian Palestine Society, and as a "holy place" may even supplant 'Ain Karîm.

The observations made at Jaffa by the Rev. J. Jamal show that the rainfall at that place from 3rd October, 1902, to 28th April, 1903, amounted to a little more than 28 inches. In 54 days there fell as follows:—

| | | | |
|-------------------------|-----|-----|--------------|
| 2 days in October, 1902 | ... | ... | 1.29 inches. |
| 14 „ November, 1902 | ... | ... | 5.51 „ |
| 10 „ December, 1902 | ... | ... | 5.24 „ |
| 10 „ January, 1903 | ... | ... | 6.70 „ |
| 9 „ February, 1903 | ... | ... | 5.90 „ |
| 7 „ March, 1903 | ... | ... | 2.76 „ |
| 2 „ April, 1903 | ... | ... | 0.65 „ |
| 54 | | | 28.05 „ |

The conclusion of Sir Charles Wilson's articles on "Golgotha and the Holy Sepulchre," and the "Notices of Foreign Publications," are unavoidably held over until the next number of the *Quarterly Statement*.

The attention of subscribers is called to a work by Sir Charles Warren, entitled "The Ancient Cubit and our Weights and Measures." He brings evidence to show that all weights and measures (except those of the metrical system) are derived from one source—the double-cubit cubed of Babylonia.

The Museum and Library of the Palestine Exploration Fund at Jerusalem have been removed from the room opposite to the Tower of David to the Bishop's Buildings, near the Tombs of the Kings, where the use of a room has been kindly permitted by the Rev. Dr. Blyth, Bishop in Jerusalem and the East. The Museum is open daily, except Sundays, and the Honorary Secretary, Dr. D'Erf Wheeler, will give all information necessary.

The "Flora of Syria, Palestine, and Sinai," by the Rev. George E. Post, M.D., Beirût, Syria, containing descriptions of all the Phaenogams and Aerogens of the region, and illustrated by 441 woodcuts, may be had at the office of the Fund, price 21s.

The income of the Society from June 23rd, 1903, to September 22nd, 1903, was—from Annual Subscriptions and Donations, including Local Societies, £327 2s. 4d.; from sales of publications, &c., £112 2s. 11d.; total, £439 5s. 3d. The expenditure during the same period was £552 0s. 11d. On September 22nd the balance in the Bank was £244 11s. 2d.

Subscribers who have not yet paid their contributions for this year will much facilitate the Committee's efforts by sending their subscriptions, the outgoings on the excavations at Gezer being just now a heavy drain on their funds.

Subscribers to the Fund are reminded that, whilst the receipt of every subscription and contribution is promptly acknowledged by the Acting Secretary, they will henceforth be published annually, and not quarterly. A complete List of Subscribers and Subscriptions for 1903 will be published in due course in a separate form.

Subscribers in U.S.A. to the work of the Fund will please note that they can procure copies of any of the publications from the Rev. Professor Theo. F. Wright, Honorary General Secretary to the Fund, 42 Quincy Street, Cambridge, Mass.

The Committee will be glad to communicate with ladies and gentlemen willing to help the Fund as Honorary Secretaries. The following gentlemen have kindly consented to act :—D. H. Ayers, Esq., Troy, New York ; Hon. William Niles, Esq., La Porte, Indiana ; and Professor Robert L. Stewart, Esq., Lincoln University, Chester Co., Pennsylvania.

The Acting Secretary has been engaged upon the preparation of a small photo-relief map of Palestine, on a scale of 10 miles to the inch. It has been made from the large raised map published in 1893, and contains all the principal biblical sites and their altitudes. All the chief topographical features are faithfully reproduced, and students of the Bible will find it an indispensable guide. Fuller particulars may be had on application to the office, where advance proofs may be seen.

Subscribers and others may be reminded that the new Raised Map of Palestine, constructed from the Surveys of the Palestine Exploration Fund, and other sources, by the Acting Secretary, is ready. It is on the scale of $6\frac{1}{4}$ miles to the inch, and measures $3' 6'' \times 2' 6''$. It has already been used with great success by Professors of Old Testament history, and by teachers in Sunday Schools, and may be especially recommended for large classes of students. Further particulars may be had on application.

Subscribers will please note that they can still obtain a set of the "Survey of Palestine," in four volumes, for £7 7s., but the price has been increased to the public to £9 9s. The price of single volumes to the public has also been increased. Applications should be made to the Acting Secretary.

The price of a complete set of the translations published by the Palestine Pilgrims' Text Society, in 13 volumes, with general index, bound in cloth, is £10 10s. A catalogue describing the contents of each volume can be had on application to the Secretary, 38 Conduit Street.

The Museum at the office of the Fund, 38 Conduit Street (a few doors from Bond Street), is open to visitors every week-day from 10 o'clock till 5, except Saturdays, when it is closed at 2 p.m.

It may be well to mention that plans and photographs alluded to in the reports from Jerusalem and elsewhere cannot all be published, but all are preserved in the office of the Fund, where they may be seen by subscribers.

Photographs of the late Dr. Schick's models (1) of the Temple of Solomon, (2) of the Herodian Temple, (3) of the Haram Area during the Christian occupation of Jerusalem, and (4) of the Haram Area as it is at present, have been received at the office of the Fund. Sets of these four photographs, with an explanation by Dr. Schick, can be purchased by applying to the Secretary, 38 Conduit Street, W.

Branch Associations of the Bible Society, all Sunday Schools within the Sunday School Institute, the Sunday School Union, and the Wesleyan Sunday School Institute, will please observe that by a special Resolution of the Committee they will henceforth be treated as subscribers and be allowed to purchase the books and maps (by application only to the Secretary) at reduced price.

The Committee will be glad to receive donations of Books to the Library of the Fund, which already contains many works of great value relating to Palestine and other Bible Lands. A catalogue of Books in the Library will be found in the July *Quarterly Statement*, 1893.

The Committee acknowledge with thanks the following :—

“Sacred Sites of the Gospels,” with illustrations, maps, and plans by Professor Sanday, D.D., LL.D., Litt.D., with the assistance of Paul Waterhouse, M.A., F.R.I.B.A. From the Author.

“Notes de Mythologie Syrienne.” From the Author, M. René Dussaud.

“Mission dans les Régions Désertiques de la Syrie moyenne.” From the Author, M. René Dussaud.

“Al-Mashrik : Revue Catholique Orientale Bimensuelle.”

“Recueil d'Archéologie Orientale.” Tome V, Livraisons 20–23. From the Author, Professor Clermont-Ganneau, M.I. *Sommaire*:—§ 50. Inscriptions grecques de Djerach. § 51. Sur deux épitaphes puniques. § 52. La notion de la sainteté chez les Sémites. § 53. La “Porte de Nicanor” du Temple de Jérusalem (pl. VII). § 54. L'autel de Kadès. § 55. Le Mont Hermon et son dieu, d'après une inscription inédite (pl. VIII). § 56. Fiches et Notes : Nouvelle inscription phénicienne de Sidon ; Inscription nabatéenne d'Oumm el-Qota'n ; Inscriptions grecques du Haurân ; Kaionmas ; Inscriptions grecques de Bersabée ; La prise de Jérusalem par les Perses ; Inscriptions grecques d'Antinoé ; Θεὸς Ἀρεμθηνός et Ἀραμτα.

For list of authorised lecturers and their subjects, write to the Secretary.

Whilst desiring to give publicity to proposed identifications and other theories advanced by officers of the Fund and contributors to the pages of the *Quarterly Statement*, the Committee wish it to be distinctly understood that by publishing them in the *Quarterly Statement* they neither sanction nor adopt them.

ANNUAL MEETING.

THE Annual General Meeting of the above Fund was held on Monday, June 22nd, 1903, at the Royal Institution, Albemarle Street, London, W., when the Bishop of Salisbury presided.

THE CHAIRMAN.—I will ask Dr. Wright, our American Honorary Secretary, to be good enough to propose the adoption of the Report.

Professor THEODORE WRIGHT.—My Lord Bishop, Ladies, and Gentlemen,—I have great pleasure in moving “That the Report and Accounts already printed, and in the hands of subscribers, be taken as read, and be received and adopted.” Americans are exceedingly interested in the work of the Palestine Exploration Fund, and although, Sir, of course, we have a certain pride in ourselves to accomplish what we can under our own name, I think it is to our great credit so far that we have attempted nothing but to give every assistance possible to this Fund. We are deeply interested also in the work carried on in the way of excavation in other lands. We see the magnificent results in Egypt and Babylonia compared with the more modest results achieved in Palestine. We believe in this work, and especially we see that it not only recovers the life of the far past, but it gives a support to the sacred Scriptures which we so dearly love. We do not approve, Sir, of those who under the name of archæology go out of their proper field to dogmatise either for the Scriptures or against them; we honour the Fund that it has so strictly confined itself within its proper field. I must not take up your time, but it seems to me that one is reminded, when he thinks of that little country, so significant yet so small, one is reminded of the Spartan with the nightingale who thought that if he could eat it he might obtain its voice, but when he had stripped it of its feathers, he said: “It is a voice, and nothing else.” Palestine is only a little country, but what a voice—the voice of the ages, the voice of God! Sir, I beg to move the resolution.

Professor EDWARD HULL.—My Lord, I have great pleasure in seconding the adoption of the Report, which, though I have not read, I am quite sure is adequate to the occasion and full of interest as we shall find when we read it.

The resolution was put to the meeting and carried unanimously.

Canon DALTON.—The names that have been put into my hands to ask you to agree to add to the General Committee of the Fund are the Very Rev. the Dean of Westminster, the Rev. Dr. James Hastings.

Rev. ARTHUR CARR.—I have much pleasure in seconding the resolution.

The resolution was put to the meeting and carried unanimously.

Admiral Sir JOHN HAY.—My Lord, I have been asked to move the following resolution:—"That the Executive Committee be re-elected, and the Rev. Robert Forman Horton, D.D., Chairman of the Congregational Union of England and Wales, be elected thereto." I have great pleasure in proposing that resolution.

Sir WILLIAM CHARLEY, K.C.—I have much pleasure in seconding the motion.

The resolution was carried unanimously.

The CHAIRMAN.—I have great pleasure now in asking Sir Charles Wilson to address you, and describe the work of the excavation of Gezer.

Sir CHARLES WILSON.—Before drawing your attention to Mr. Macalister's work at Gezer, I should like to reply to a question which is frequently asked. It is this: How is it known that any particular object belongs to the Aboriginal, the Canaanite, the Jewish, the Greek, or the Roman period? To answer this it is necessary to explain the law of stratification upon which the whole groundwork of scientific exploration depends. The occupation of a site by a town, or village, is always marked by a bed, or stratum, of rubbish which contains the foundations of walls, and specimens of the weapons, the tools, and the objects connected with the domestic and religious life of the occupiers. The bed of rubbish varies in thickness according to the duration of the occupation, or the period that has elapsed since the site was abandoned. When a site has been occupied continuously for several centuries, and by different races, the accumulated rubbish forms a series of beds, or strata, of varying thickness, which lie one above the other like the strata of sedimentary rocks. As each geological formation has its characteristic fossils, so, in the remains of an ancient city, each bed of rubbish contains something which differentiates it from the two beds between which it lies. Sometimes certain forms, or objects, survive through many

centuries, and are found in several successive strata ; sometimes the action of sun and rain carries a small object down to a stratum to which it does not belong ; and sometimes, in sinking for foundations, the contents of lower strata have been brought to the surface, and again covered up in their false position by later accumulations. These disturbances, as a rule, can be readily detected, and the skilled explorer is able to refer nearly everything he finds to its proper stratum, and, consequently, to the period during which the rubbish of that bed was accumulating. The determination of the date and duration of the period which each bed, or stratum, represents is rendered exceptionally difficult in Palestine by the small number of objects found which can be dated with certainty. But, within certain limits, a trained archæologist is able to read the history of an ancient city which he is excavating with very considerable accuracy.

The excavations at Gezer have disclosed the stratified debris of seven periods of occupation. During the first and second periods, which are represented by the two lowest strata, the site was occupied by an aboriginal, non-Semitic race, of slight build and small stature—none exceeded 5 feet 7 inches, and most of them were under 5 feet 4 inches. These people, who in some respects resemble the occupants of Europe during the Neolithic Age, lived in caves, or in rude huts of mud and stone, and cremated their dead in a cave specially prepared for the purpose.

Between the second and third strata there is a distinct break, indicating the advent of a new race. The Neolithic cave-dwellers gave place to a Semitic people of stronger build and more advanced civilisation. These Semites were from 5 feet 7 inches to 5 feet 11 inches in height, and had well-developed skulls ; their racial type was not unlike that of the modern Arab. They lived in houses of mud and stone, crowded together like those of a Palestine village, and surrounded them with walls. The Gezerites of this period buried their dead within the walls, making use of the crematorium, and other rock excavations of their predecessors. Sometimes their food vessels and sometimes their exceptionally fine bronze weapons were buried with them. Scarabs and impressions of scarab-seals of the Egyptian Middle Empire occur in abundance, and a fragment of an inscribed statue of the same period was uncovered. Amongst other finds are broken statuettes of a cow divinity ; a little bone needle-case containing a

bronze needle; moulds for casting arrow-heads; cylinders of Babylonian and Syrian origin; and a great number of terra-cotta plaques with figures of Ashtaroth in low relief—all broken as if some rite connected with the goddess involved the fracture of her image. Some of the pottery types, in both strata, are common to Gezer and Lachish, indicating a connection between the two places, probably tribal or racial, that may be inferred from the Bible narrative and the Tell Amarna letters. In the upper stratum the influence of Aegean art is very clear in much of the pottery.

The most interesting discovery in connection with the pre-Israelite strata is that of the *bāmāh*, or “high place” of Gezer, which dates from the early Semitic period, and was apparently altered and enlarged in the period represented by Stratum IV. The “high place” consists of a megalithic structure, standing in a court, or *ḥaram*, which has a well-defined floor of limestone chips.

The megalithic structure consists of a group of monoliths from 5 feet 5 inches to 10 feet 9 inches high, aligned in a gentle curve of which the chord is nearly north and south. West of the north end of the alignment, and evidently belonging to the scheme of the high place, is a circular structure, 13 feet 8 inches in diameter, consisting of a rude wall, now about 6 feet high, in which there is no opening. Within the precincts of the high place was found the skull of a man, of different race from that of the occupiers, whose head must have been intentionally deposited in the temple of the town divinity. With this may be compared the head of Goliath, which David buried at Jerusalem.

The *bāmāh* or “high place,” which is synonymous with “holy place,” was *par excellence* the sanctuary of the Semites. It was most frequently on a hill, near a spring or in a grove of trees, but at Gezer it was on the saddle between the knolls. Perhaps, remembering the large part which the worship of caves played in popular Semitic belief, the selection of the site may be attributed to some legend connected with a cave of the Neolithic race which was altered and utilised by the Semites in connection with their religious rites.

There is evidence that the high place retained its sanctity until a late period of the Jewish monarchy, when it appears to have fallen into disuse.

The fifth and sixth strata represent the occupation of Gezer by the Israelites. In the fifth stratum—that is the town which was

destroyed by the father-in-law of Solomon—private houses are found, for the first time, to have encroached upon the precincts of the high place. The stratum is characterised by the appearance of iron, by lamp and bowl deposits under the foundations of houses, and by the transitional character of the pottery from pre-Israelite to Jewish. Bronze is the common metal, but flints are still used.

In the same fifth stratum several instances occur in which the bones of infants have been built under or into ordinary house walls. It seems clear that we have in this discovery evidence of infant sacrifice in connection with the widespread custom of foundation rites, and it is interesting to note that Dr. Sellin has found the bones of both infants and adults in or under the foundations of houses at Taanach.

The lamp and bowl deposits disappear completely at the time of the Captivity, and this circumstance led Mr. Macalister to conclude that they were connected with some rite peculiar to the Israelites. Recently, however, he has uncovered a remarkable deposit beneath the foundations of an undoubted pre-Israelite house, which may lead him to modify his opinion. It consists in a jar on its side, containing the remains of two infants. Above the jar are two saucers, one containing two others, and behind it are two jars standing upright, and two lamps, one inside the other. This discovery suggests to me the idea that the Israelites may have adopted the foundation rites of the Canaanites only so far as the deposit of lamps and bowls was concerned, and that the infant remains were the result of sacrifice either by Canaanites living amongst the Israelites, or by Gezrites of the period just before the capture of the city by the Pharaoh of Egypt when Gezer does not appear to have been in the possession of the Jews. The questions connected with the practice of infant sacrifice at Gezer cannot be adequately discussed until the completion of excavations. It may, however, be remarked that the custom was not common amongst the Jews until the latter half of the period of the monarchy. The sin is denounced by the prophets of the seventh and sixth centuries B.C., but, the case of Ahaz excepted, is not mentioned by those of the eighth century.

The sixth stratum may be assigned, with certainty, to the period of the Jewish monarchy, for it contains the jar-handles with "royal stamps" bearing the legend "To the king," in old Hebrew characters.

The lamp and bowl deposits continue; there is a further encroachment by private houses on the precincts of the high place; Jewish types of pottery prevail; iron is in general use; but bronze weapons are common, and flint implements have not disappeared. The flint objects are inferior, as if the art of making them had been lost. One flint axe-head has an *aleph* of the old Hebrew alphabet scratched on its calcareous surface.

Amongst the finds in this stratum were a fine bronze statuette of Osiris with remains of gilding; a bronze statuette of Ashtoreth Karmaim or horned Astarte, the only perfect image of the goddess, I believe, that has yet been found (the horns seem intended to represent rams' horns rather than the crescent moon); and a saucer bearing a legible but almost unintelligible group of old Hebrew characters.

The city represented by the sixth stratum was confined to the western half of the mound, and this seems to indicate that Solomon, in rebuilding Gezer, restricted the area, and made the place a fortified post. Before the close of the sixth period the "high place" appears to have lost most, if not all, of its sanctity—a result possibly due to the reforming zeal of Josiah.

The seventh stratum represents the occupation of the site during what might be called the Syro-Egyptian period; that is the period during which the country was alternately occupied by the followers of Alexander the Great, and saw the temporary consolidation of Jewish power under the Maccabæans. The stratum marks a complete break in the history of Gezer. Flint implements and the lamp and bowl deposits disappear; iron is in common use; bronze is only employed for ornamental purposes; there is no trace of worship in connection with the "high place"; and the masonry of the houses and the types of pottery are similar to those found in the Ptolemaic town of Marisa (Tell Sandahannah). Amongst the objects found in this stratum are an Egyptian inscription of the fourth century B.C.; a Greek inscription which appears to have belonged to a votive offering dedicated to Hercules; Rhodian jar-handles, saucers, ointment bottles, and imported Greek bowls. In the destruction of some of the stones at the north end of the megalithic monument at the high place, Mr. Macalister finds the work of Simon Maccabæus, who purified the places polluted by the idols, cast out all the pollutions (of Gezer), and placed such men there as would keep the law.

The CHAIRMAN.—I believe it is now my very pleasant duty to thank Sir Charles Wilson for his excellent lecture, and the not less excellent exhibition of the very remarkable slides which you have seen. I think that he has answered very well the question which was so naturally put to him, as to whether we can have confidence in these investigations. The best answer to such a question as that is to show the way in which one thing follows on after another, and to make it clear by actual instances of the superposition of one stratum and one series of objects upon another that they do correspond not only to what we know externally from history, but that they follow in a natural series. As, for instance, we see flint and bone being superseded by bronze and iron in the ordinary way. And I think that what he has said not only is illustrated by, but does very much illustrate, the record of the Bible on the subject generally. I think that we have to thank these excavations for helping us, I won't say to have a more decided faith in the accuracy of the Scripture record, but helping us to understand it better. I fully believe that is what we mostly want to do—understand it better. We can believe it without understanding it, but we cannot believe it in a fruitful manner unless we understand, and the understanding of the Scripture record is to me a very great blessing which this Society has brought to our own generation. We need all the possible confirmation that we can have, and we find that confirmation in the excavations and in the very learned and remarkable works which are written in explanation of those excavations, not merely this excellent report of Mr. Macalister's, but in the many other publications of our Society which we find advertised along with it, and the excellent work by M. Clermont-Ganneau, which you so often find in the pages of the *Quarterly Statement*. I have travelled myself twice to Jerusalem, and was very thankful to see, not merely with my own eyes, but with the eyes of those who had been working on the spot as agents of our Society, what I could certainly not have seen with my own eyes. There is no doubt that our Society has done a very great work in developing a class of man, going back a long time to General Gordon and General Kitchener as they came in after time, and Colonel Conder and the rest of the early workers up to the present day. We have had a succession of very able men serving the Society who have raised the whole standard, I think, of such investigations, not only in England, but in very many other parts of the world. I won't say

that our English excavators are always the best; we owe a great deal to German, we owe a great deal to French excavators, and we owe something, no doubt, to the Americans who have worked so loyally with us. It is a very great thing to have a Society which, having no party principle of any sort, is able to go to work at the problems suggested by the Scriptures and by the country, and to give us the information with trained eyes and trained minds. As we get older, we are all, I think, more ready to defer to authority than we were when we were young, and we see that everybody must be trusted in his own art, and a scientific excavator, such as those we have had and are having still, really becomes to us an authority of the very highest rank. We know that it is quite impossible for us individually to test everything that is said and done; but we know that by creating a society, as we have done, for the purposes of scientific excavation, we have created a perpetual instrument of inquiry and a perpetual instrument of criticism which makes the work that is done very solid and real, and I am extremely thankful for this "Report on the Excavation of Gezer" in many different ways. I have read it twice with the greatest possible interest, and I commend it to you most heartily. There is a certain amount to be added from the last *Quarterly Statement*, but the main interest lies in this larger Report, which we hold in our hands to-day. We see that God chose the land for the purpose of being the nursery of His people for very many reasons which we can understand, and others which we cannot understand, but I suppose in order that it might be close to the great ancient civilisations of Egypt and Babylonia, might draw from that which it was well it should draw, at the same time that it should be independent, and that it should have to supersede a race which could be—if one may venture to say so of any of God's nations—superseded without much loss to humanity, it was necessary that the Canaanite civilisation, such as it was, should come to an end. Nothing, I think, that has been discovered makes us feel any regret at the supersession of Canaanite civilisation by Israelite civilisation. We cannot see that there was anything in their culture or their religion which was worth preserving for any length of time, and I think that these infant burials and other elements of religion at Gezer make us feel that the Bible has not misrepresented at all the abomination of the Canaanite culture which was superseded by the Israelite culture. We are thankful for that, sad as it is that humanity should have been so

depraved as it was. Then that is one lesson, I think, from these excavations, besides the main lesson that we may depend upon those who teach us about these things. Another lesson, of course, is to feel the continuity of history, and to feel that what is here brought to light illustrates so many things all over the world. I am, perhaps, a little disappointed to find that there is nothing to illustrate Stonehenge, which is so near my home in Wiltshire, and so far as I can understand—although I dare say I am wrong—there does not seem to have been any orientation about the stones such as there certainly is at Stonehenge. There we have, as you know, a stone over which the sun rises on the longest day, as it did yesterday, with great precision, and I am thankful to know there was a large number of people seeing that sun rise yesterday, and that they were able to do so after waiting six or seven years. I have not heard there is anything of the kind in Palestine, but perhaps we may yet find it. But we do see in all the different alternations of burial and the pottery and the cup marks, and many other details which were brought before our eyes so rapidly just now—we see that there is a general continuity and likeness, not absolute identity, between the work of man in a great many different parts of the world, one may almost say in all parts of the world. That, I think, is a very valuable lesson that these excavations bring out to us—that humanity even in its earliest stages is humanity, and is humanity of the same kind as that which we know living now. These very few remarks I have made rather from the wish to show my thanks to Sir Charles Wilson than to say anything which might be specially worthy of your notice. I have had the pleasure of knowing him for a number of years. His brother was a very loving and affectionate and helpful fellow-worker of mine at Salisbury, and it was always a pleasure to meet him and be with him in any good work. I do not know whether I may go on to add to what I have said a vote of thanks to the workers and local Secretaries. I dare say there will be others to speak to them, but I must confess that, living as I do a busy, fully-occupied life, unable to go into these things at first hand, I am exceedingly obliged to all those who give so much of their time and thought to these very difficult works which are done both at home and abroad; and I should like to be allowed, as Chairman, especially to thank the Secretary and others who have given us this great pleasure this afternoon by arranging this meeting. (Applause.)

MR. WALTER MORRISON (Treasurer).—My Lord, Ladies, and Gentlemen,—I have been asked to propose this resolution, which I am sure will meet with your cordial support :—

“That this meeting desires to express its thanks to Mr. R. A. Stewart Macalister for his zealous and diligent conduct of the excavations, and his care in noting and reporting the results ; also to Mr. Hanauer, Dr. Masterman, and others resident in Palestine, or visitors, who have contributed the results of their local observations for publication by the Fund.

“The meeting also desires to thank the several local Hon. Secretaries for their assistance in making known the work of the Fund, and particularly Professor Theodore Wright, our able and zealous Hon. General Secretary for the United States, who has for so many years been an enthusiastic worker for the interests of the Palestine Exploration Fund.”

I am sure you will all agree with me that in Mr. Macalister we have the right man in the right place. He was trained under Dr. Bliss, an American citizen, by-the-bye, who worked for some years for us, who in his turn had been trained by Professor Petrie, who was one of the most remarkable excavators who ever lived in the world, and who seemed to have a sort of instinct, as it were, to scent ancient remains under surfaces which were sometimes very unpromising. When this Fund was first started, we at a very early period of our work undertook excavations at Jerusalem, and that work will always remain on record, and I do not suppose there is very much left to be found in Jerusalem itself. It is a very lucky thing that 35 years ago we began to excavate at Jerusalem. It would be a far more expensive and difficult task now, because during those 35 years Jerusalem has grown almost as rapidly as a city in the Western States of America. When we had pretty well finished our systematic excavations, we had to rely upon such an accident as someone building a new house, when some of our friends at Jerusalem would go and examine the foundations, and would find perhaps the vestige of a wall or something. Then we went further afield to excavate the mounds which are scattered largely over the country. Of course, it has been rather a lottery—you may find very interesting remains, and you may find very little indeed ; and it certainly was a very fortunate decision on the part of our advisers and of the Committee that we should go and

excavate the site of Gezer. Perhaps I should mention that there is no doubt whatever about this being Gezer, because M. Clermont-Ganneau, when he was in our service, found some marks on a stone which meant "The limits of Gezer," which was one of the Cities of Refuge. We appeal to our fellow-countrymen to furnish us with the necessary means to carry on these excavations rapidly. Our firman expires in the middle of next year, but perhaps we can get it extended ; and I can tell you, as the Treasurer of the Fund, that at this present moment we have only just money enough in hand to a little more than pay a certain bank overdraft, and it is eminently desirable that we should be able to go on with these exceedingly interesting discoveries. They are the most remarkable in many ways we have ever made in the Holy Land, and certainly they throw a lurid light upon the nature of the Canaanites and their religion, who were superseded by the irruption of the Israelites ; and so we can read the denunciations of the Prophets with greater interest, and we are able to realise the reason of their indignation against these practices. Well, now I would point out that we are very much obliged to accidental visitors to Palestine if they will give us any information they may pick up. It is just as well to write to our office about what they see. It may, perhaps, have been discovered before, and may be recorded in our office, but it is just as well to let us know anything they see which appears to be of any value. It is a case of eyes and no eyes. Many Europeans had climbed to Mount Pisgah and saw no monument, but Lieutenant Conder went and saw some 300 or 400 of these rude stone monuments somewhat analogous to Stonehenge. People travelling in Palestine come across not only rude stone monuments, but other things, and should direct the attention of our Society or some other scientific society to any place or discovery which may be of value. I have very great pleasure in asking you to give a very cordial vote of thanks to Professor Theodore Wright, who has been our indefatigable Secretary in the United States ; and we are very grateful indeed for the sympathy which has come to us across the Herring Pond in the form of very substantial dollars, and all the more so because, though the Americans are our kinsmen, it is not an American society. America is the land of the Bible as England is the land of the Bible, and so there is a real, genuine interest felt in our work ; but, at the same time, you could conceive that there might be a certain amount of jealousy shown to a society

belonging to another country. I think it would be very unlikely that we should find the Germans, for instance, sending us any subscriptions, or that we should send any money to Germany for carrying on excavations in the Holy Land. Professor Wright has for many a long year been our Hon. Secretary, and to him we owe everything we have received from the United States of America. I would venture to appeal also to the people of this country to give us the necessary funds to carry on this work vigorously, and I would fain hope at an early date, because when the hot weather is over we shall be able to work with greater energy than we can do in the extreme heat of the Maritime Plain. England may not be as wealthy now as the United States, and you cannot expect very much, I am afraid, from the agricultural interest; but our towns are very wealthy, and it is to be hoped that we shall get better support from them. I only wish that all our local Secretaries were as energetic and devoted to our cause as Professor Wright is in the United States of America. The days are gone by when we used to receive cheques for £100 from noblemen and gentlemen who gave £100, or it may be more, to help the Society, and then they think they have done their duty, and do not send yearly subscriptions. We now have to depend, as you will see from the Report, much more upon the guinea and half-guinea subscriptions than we did in the early days of this movement. As you have already heard, we have only excavated as yet one-eighth of this mound, and there are hundreds of these mounds scattered about the country, any one of which when opened might turn out to be as fruitful in surprises as the excavations of Mr. Macalister.

Dr. GINSEBURG.—My Lord, Ladies, and Gentlemen,—I have very much pleasure in seconding the resolution.

A SUBSCRIBER.—In rising to support the resolution, I should like to ask my lord a question. I have heard within the last ten days that the Mohammedans have begun to enclose the hill above Jeremiah's Grotto, and also they have begun blasting the face of the rock. I should like to ask if there is any news from Jerusalem confirming that or not?

The CHAIRMAN.—Perhaps Sir Charles Wilson will answer that.

Sir CHARLES WILSON.—There has been a report that the Mohammedan cemetery has been enclosed by a high wall. I may perhaps be allowed to mention that we have only just heard that during some excavations at Jerusalem they have found jar burials

like those at Gezer, and a cave in which a number of men had been buried.

Sir WILLIAM CHARLEY, K.C.—I am very glad that Sir Charles Wilson in his able Papers in the *Quarterly Statement* has left the question open as to the identity of the Holy Sepulchre. (Hear, hear.)

The resolution was then put to the meeting and carried unanimously.

Dr. WRIGHT.—My Lord Bishop, Ladies, and Gentlemen,—Americans are modest (laughter), and they are feeling humble just now, because they have lately been buying ships over here and they are sorry they did. Therefore, Sir, we are eating our bread in silence. But, speaking more seriously, I may say that it has given me the very greatest pleasure to be of any service in this work, and that I have always met with the most kindly reception wherever I have gone in our country. Unfortunately, it is so large that it is impossible to reach many places, but I know very well that there is a rising appreciation of this work, and I consider it most fortunate that the Fund has not only always employed in the field men of the highest character, but that its utterances through the medium of the *Quarterly Statement* have always been of a cautious and wise character. That is why, perhaps, it has not excited the greatest enthusiasm, but while, of course, under the circumstances it could never make large promises to museums or to rich men in America, who are endowing museums as means of gaining private reputation, as well as doing public good, it has done its own work carefully and well. The question was raised about the hill above Jeremiah's Grotto. I met an Englishman who had just come from there, and he said it was being enclosed, and he had some difficulty in getting upon the hill. I mention this because he said they were doing it in order to prevent Americans from holding Christian services amongst those graves as they had been doing. If Americans had been less forward in the matter, probably the wall would not have been put up. As I said before, Sir, our work is of exceeding importance, and it is a great privilege as I deem it to have any part in carrying it on.

Mr. CRACE.—I have a very short and pleasant duty to perform. It is to propose "That the thanks of this meeting be conveyed to the Board of Managers of the Royal Institution for kindly granting the use of their Lecture Theatre for this occasion."

This is not the first occasion we have had the pleasure of meeting in this theatre, a theatre devoted to science, and science in so many many forms, and our requests, whenever it has been possible to answer them favourably, have always been received so courteously that I feel a vote of thanks of a very warm kind is due to the Committee of Management.

Major-General Sir FREDERICK GOLDSMITH.—Mr. Chairman,—I have been asked to second this resolution, and it is with great pleasure that I rise to do so, for it is one not only which I have great pleasure in with regard to the occasion and being asked to do so, but it is one that from old association I am aware is well merited.

The resolution was unanimously adopted.

Sir CHARLES WILSON.—It is now my pleasant duty to ask you to pass the following resolution unanimously:—"That this meeting tenders its hearty thanks to the Lord Bishop of Salisbury for presiding." I think we are all greatly indebted to the Bishop for having given up so much of his valuable time to the presidency of this meeting, and I am sure his presence in the chair to-day will be a great encouragement to our future work. The Bishop, as I know, visited Jerusalem, and whilst there took the greatest interest in the antiquities to be seen in the city, and I think he has also communicated a paper to our *Quarterly Statement* on the d'Aubigny tombstone.¹ I do not know whether his lordship is aware of it, but that stone was unfortunately broken during a quarrel some months ago between the Greek and the Latin monks as to whose right it was to clean the steps leading up to a little chapel from the courtyard of the Sepulchre. Some monks who had got on to the roof of the Church threw down stones on those who were fighting below, and, unfortunately, one of these stones fell on the tombstone of Philip d'Aubigny and broke it. I have not heard what became of the remains of the stone, but I hope good care was taken that they should not be lost. It is very kind of his lordship to come here and give his approval of the manner in which our work is being carried on. We have in Mr. Macalister a skilled explorer, and we desire to encourage and support him in every possible way, and, without agreeing fully with his tentative conclusions as to the results of his discoveries, I think we may absolutely

¹ *Quarterly Statement*, 1900, p. 192.

depend upon his judgment whenever he says that a particular object belongs to a Jewish or a Canaanite period. His drawings are exceedingly good, and I look forward with the greatest interest to his discoveries in the future. What we hope to find, and I think we may find, is a series of tablets completing the correspondence with the Pharaoh of Egypt. We have letters in the Tell Amarna series from the Governor of Gezer, and we hope to find replies from Egypt in some part of the mound. One tablet was found at Lachish, but at Gezer there is a wetter climate, and these clay tablets have an unfortunate habit of disintegrating in a rainy country. We hope, however, to make some finds, and that by this time next year we shall be able to give you as satisfactory an account of the excavations as we have been able to do for the past 12 months.



Colonel WATSON, R.E.—I have much pleasure, Sir, in rising to second the vote of thanks, and I am sure we are all very much indebted to his lordship for being so good as to come and preside over us on this occasion. I believe there is no one on the episcopal bench who takes more interest in our excavations than the Bishop of Salisbury.

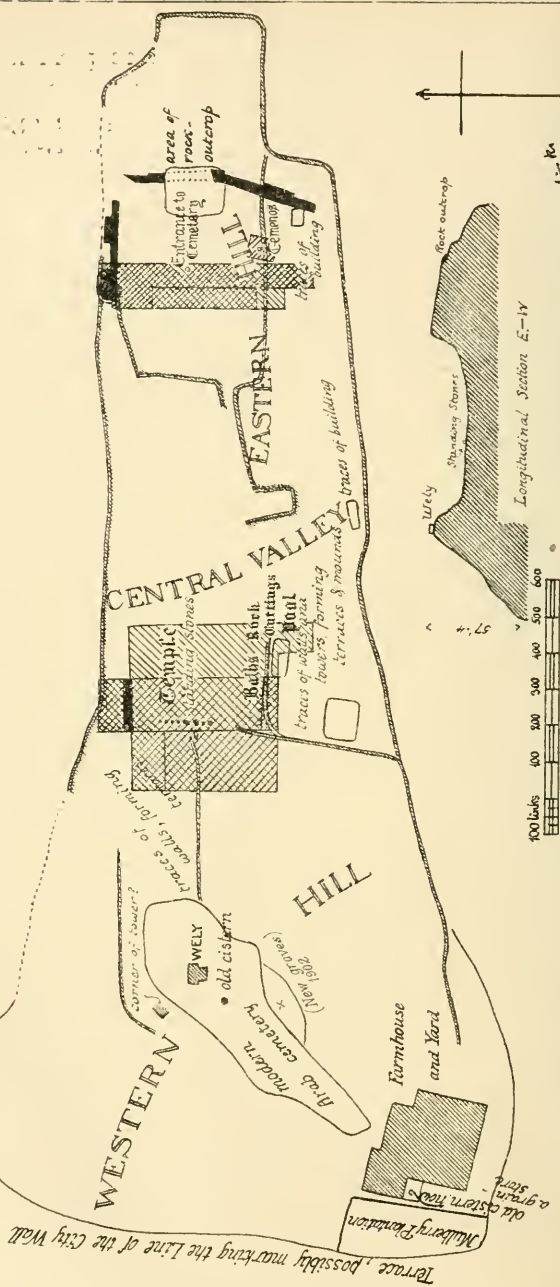
The resolution was carried with acclamation.

The CHAIRMAN.—I am much obliged to you, Ladies and Gentlemen, for your kindness, and particularly to Sir Charles Wilson for the way in which he has spoken. It is a great happiness to me to know that the Society is closely connected with that college at Jerusalem which is the centre of Bishop Blyth's work where I had the honour to go and consecrate the church in the year 1898. I hope that that is evidence that the work of my dear brother, Bishop Blyth, is of a national character. This is a national Society, and it is very naturally and wisely connected with the work of the Anglican Bishop in Jerusalem. We do not wish in the least to claim anything specially of a Church character for the work of the Society, but we are very thankful that it accepts our hospitality, as I believe many visitors to Jerusalem are inclined to do. I do hope that the college may be a real national centre utterly removed from anything to do with party where any Englishman or Englishwoman travelling in that part of the world may find a hearty welcome. (Applause.)

EXCAVATION OF CEZER

PLAN OF THE SURFACE

 Excavated before Report IV.
 " " since "



FIFTH QUARTERLY REPORT ON THE EXCAVATION OF GEZER.

(16 May—15 August, 1903.)

By R. A. STEWART MACALISTER, M.A., F.S.A.

§ I.—SUMMARY OF THE QUARTER'S WORK.

THE discoveries made during the past quarter have been of considerable interest, though as none call for very lengthy description the present report will be shorter than usual. The work has advanced without serious interruption, five days only being lost, owing to a severe fever contracted by the foremen of the labourers.

The tell continues as prolific as ever in small objects of stone, metal, and pottery. Further material for the study of "lamp and bowl" deposits has been found, and evidence is now forthcoming connecting them with human sacrifice. The harvest of scarabs and other evidences of Egyptian influence is undiminished. Inscribed stones, including one of considerable interest, have come to light, holding out hopes that the tell may still contain written documents of importance. Several fresh caves have been opened and cleared with interesting results, the foundations of important buildings of various periods have been unearthed, and a cistern has been opened containing human bones furnishing further material for osteological study.

Probably the most important discovery, however, is a rock surface with cuttings and caves which there seems good reason to regard as a place of worship belonging to the aboriginal inhabitants, antedating the "High Place" of the Amorite cities.

§ II.—STONE AND METAL OBJECTS.

Alabaster.—Jugs and saucers (the latter of the type illustrated in Fig. 2 of the previous report) in this material are still frequent. The most remarkable alabaster vessel found during this quarter is a small squat jug, with extravagantly wide rim (Plate II, Fig. 1) discovered in fragments in the Seleucid stratum. This vessel is distinguished from the other alabaster jugs found on the tell by the

shape of the hollow of its interior, which is not merely a cylindrical hole bored through the middle of the vessel, but follows the curves of the exterior outline.

Several examples of a circular reel-like object in alabaster, with a convex top, flat bottom, and concave sides, perforated along the axis, have been discovered. They are about $2\frac{1}{2}$ inches in diameter and 1 inch high. These may be mace-heads of a different pattern from the normal form, or else may be intended for winding thread upon. They seem to be too heavy for spindlewheels (Plate II, Fig. 10).

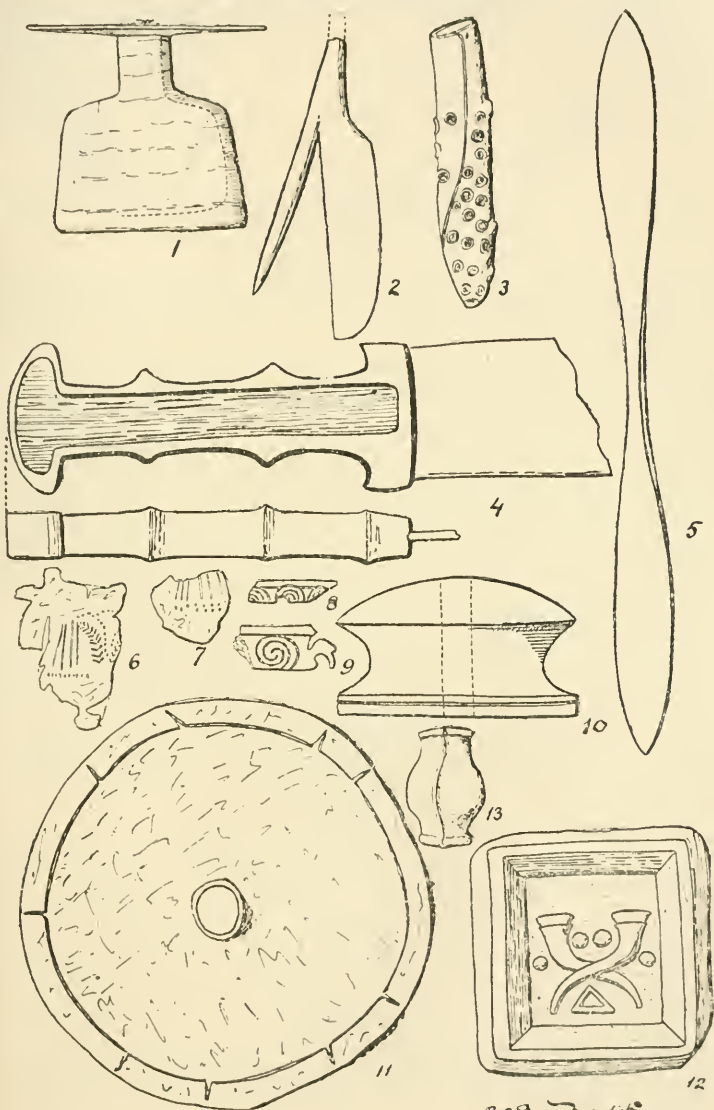
Draught-boards and Men.—I have noticed in previous reports that draught-boards were unaccountably missing from the antiquities on the tell. Some examples have at last been found, nearly all fragmentary, but enough to show that they were provided for playing a variety of games. One example, for instance, has but three rows of squares, while a perfect specimen from Tell Zakariya had no less than $12 \times 12 = 144$ squares. On this Gezer example certain squares are marked by a **X** laid over them; with this is to be contrasted a small fragment from Tell eš-Şâfi having the **X** on the intersections of the lines marking out the squares. It is unfortunate that most of the chequer-boards that have come to light in Palestine have been fragmentary, but enough remain to show that there were a large number of possible arrangements of the squares.

A collection of 13 small water-worn pebbles, each about the size of an ordinary ivory card-counter and three times as thick, was found in the lower Jewish stratum. These had evidently been collected on the sea shore, and carried thence to the city, perhaps to serve as draughtmen, or as counters to assist calculation (like the pellets of an abacus).

Miscellaneous.—It is difficult, if not impossible, to tell of what the fragment figured on p. 302 formed a part. It is of heavy, close-grained brown slate, $6\frac{3}{4}$ inches long. The sides converge upwards, the top being $1\frac{3}{4}$ inches broad, the bottom $2\frac{1}{2}$ inches. The fragment is $1\frac{3}{4}$ inches deep. The top bears a longitudinal groove, semicircular in section, and another crossing it transversely and stopping it $\frac{3}{8}$ inch from the end. The sides display a number of holes and triangular and square depressions, from which it would appear that the fragment was broken from the object to which it belonged in ancient times, and that an attempt was made to secure

EXCAVATION OF CEZER

MISCELLANEOUS OBJECTS



it in position by fish-plates and dove-tail rivets. There are, however, one or two holes that cannot easily be thus accounted for, and I

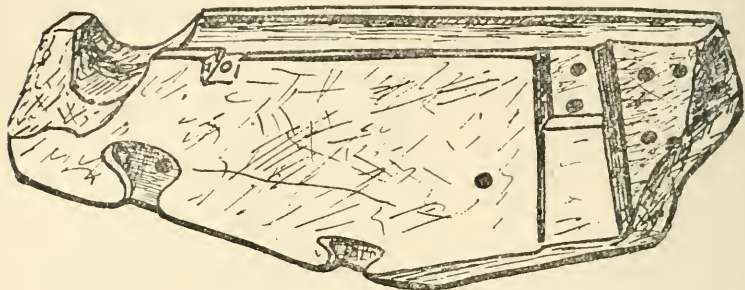


FIG. 1.—Stone Fragment.

do not think that enough remains to enable us to determine exactly to what the fragment belonged.

Bronze.—In the second report (p. 39 *ante*) I described fragments of a pottery tray or dish, covered on its upper surface with a lining of bronze. This description I must now correct. Examination of similar fragments subsequently found lead me to the conclusion that in these objects we are to see the remains of vessels in which bronze was melted for casting, the apparent bronze lining being the waste material remaining after the metal had been poured into the moulds. The vessels show marks of fire, and are (as might be expected) of thick coarse pottery.

The melted bronze was poured into stone moulds, several specimens of which have already been found and described. Arrowheads were sometimes cast in pairs, joined end to end, and afterwards cut separate. This is shown by a curious example found in fragments, in which the separation had not been effected (Plate II, Fig. 5).

A solid rod of bronze, 1 foot $8\frac{3}{4}$ inches long, broken into three pieces, was found in a cistern. This was possibly a sceptre. Two examples (one fragmentary) have been found of a curious tube with perforations. This I cannot explain unless it be a chape or cap for the end of a lance (Plate II, Fig. 3). Equally difficult to assign to its purpose is a knife with a projecting spur at the back, found in fragments on the rock (Plate II, Fig. 2).

The other bronze objects enumerated in this quarter's catalogue are of the species usually found—fibulæ, arrow- and spearheads,

axes, rings, pins, needles, &c. These need not be individually mentioned. The only other bronze object calling for reference is a fine sword-handle, with part of the blade remaining, from the lower Jewish stratum. The sides of the hilt were hollow and inlaid with bone plates, fragments of which still remained when the object was discovered, though they rapidly disintegrated (Plate II, Fig. 4).

Iron.—A spearhead, $7\frac{1}{4}$ inches long, and a large fibula are the only objects in iron that need be mentioned. The latter type of object is rare in this metal.

Lead.—In the Seleucid stratum was found a square weight of lead (Plate II, Fig. 12), resembling one already found in the upper town at Tell Sandahannah. The latter bore an inscription, in place of which the Gezer example is stamped with two cornucopias and the letter Δ , no doubt a numerical sign. The Sandahannah weight has two knobs at the side, apparently indicating that it was meant to weigh double the standard; the similar Gezer weight should weigh four times the standard, or double the Sandahannah weight. The actual weights are respectively 145 grammes and 263.60 grammes, which is a sufficiently close approximation to the required proportion. Vessels made of lead are rare, so that a small jug $1\frac{1}{8}$ inches high, made in two halves welded together, is worth mentioning (Plate II, Fig. 13), as is also a circular disc $4\frac{1}{4}$ inches in diameter, with the edges turned back and a round hole in the centre (Plate II, Fig. 11).

Silver.—Within 3 feet of the rock was found a curious pendant or locket (Fig. 2). It is circular, $\frac{3}{4}$ inch in diameter. The object

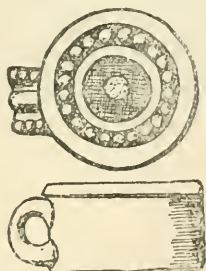


FIG. 2.—Silver Amulet.

resembles a pillbox with a loop attached for suspension to the sides. The centre of the ring is enamelled—deep blue with a white spot in the middle—and round the enamel runs a ring of

small knobs. The box when found was full of white earth, quite different from that in which the object was embedded.

Gold.—Several torn and crushed fragments of gold leaf were found in a hoard belonging to the late Canaanite or early Jewish period. These had probably been torn off a statue or some such object; several of them show delicate *repoussé* linear and spiral ornament (Plate II, Figs. 6–9).

§ III.—POTTERY.

Miscellaneous.—Three different objects, all from the Seleucid stratum, must here be referred to. The first is the neck of a



FIG. 3.—Terra-cotta Statuette.

vessel surmounted by a strainer, resembling a modern pepper-castor. The second is a fragment of a fine multiple lamp. The third is a charming figurine in terra-cotta, representing a mother suckling her infant son. The upper half of the statuette alone remains; it is 3 inches in height. The mother's figure is attired in chlamys and himation, the latter drawn back, revealing the hair confined by a band; the child's figure is undraped.

Painted Ware.—Two fragments are deserving of mention. The first is a sherd with a curious animal figure painted upon it in red

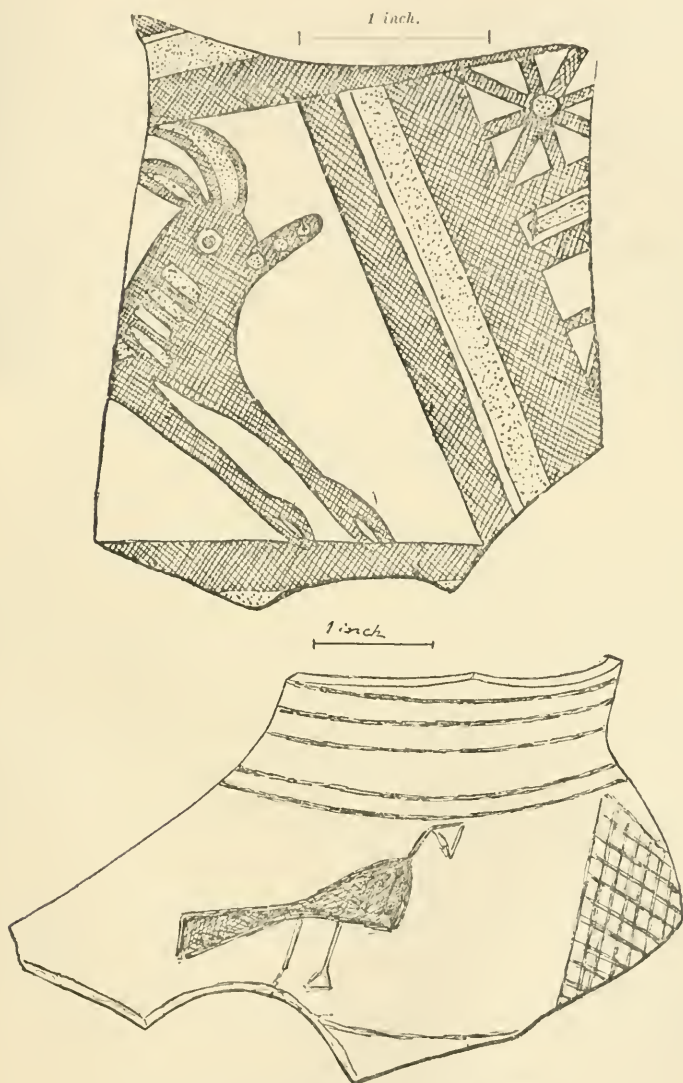


FIG. 4.—Two Fragments of Painted Ware.

and black. The second is part of a vase of brick-red ware, bearing figures of peacocks and frets in dark Indian-red lines upon it.

Animal Figures.—These continue to be common, mostly in fragments. A goat's head with long horns is the most novel and striking specimen.

Stamped Jar-handles.—One more handle with a Hebrew stamp has been found, but, like the others, it is hopelessly illegible; I do not think it was ever stamped with sufficient clearness to be read. A considerable number of jar-handles with Rhodian stamps were found in the upper strata; the inscriptions of these will be tabulated in the concluding memoir. The following, however, may be given here, as they are of especial importance, being a pair of handles from one amphora; they show the name of the magistrate and of the merchant together, and afford one more datum for the determination of the chronological order of the governors of Rhodes. Each stamp is oval, with a rose in the centre. The inscriptions are:—

ΕΠΙ ΑΡΙΣΤΟΔΑΜΟΥ ΒΑΤ[ΡΟΜ]ΙΩΝ (*sic*)
ΙΠΠΟΚΡΑΤΕΥΣ

§ IV.—LAMP AND BOWL DEPOSITS.

A few further observations have been made on the subject of this puzzling foundation rite.

In the first place, it is to be noticed that the deposits are generally found under the ends of walls—that is, at the corners of houses or chambers, or just under door-jambs. There are occasional exceptions to this rule, in which the deposit is found under the middle of a wall; in all probability these exceptions are apparent rather than real, a doorway having formerly existed over the site of the deposit, but having disappeared owing to the wall being ruined below its threshold.

Secondly, it would appear that the rite at which these deposits were made involved the pouring of some liquid into the deposited vessels. This is to be inferred from the frequency with which the vessels are made watertight by a kind of lime cement smeared over or pressed into any cracks that may exist in the pottery. This is seldom if ever to be seen in vessels found elsewhere on the tell, but is a peculiarity of the members of lamp and bowl groups.

This liquid most probably was either blood or grape-juice, which latter in toned-down sacrificial rites often takes the place of blood; for evidence is gradually accumulating that these foundation

deposits are primarily sacrificial, and that a human victim was immolated in the original form of the rite. In my last report I have referred to the discovery of infant bones buried under the corners of house walls. In the accompanying plate (III)¹ a very striking connecting link is illustrated, bridging the gap between the deposited infants' bones and the lamp and bowl groups.

The wall in which this deposit was found belonged to an early Canaanite stratum. The deposit consisted of the following nine members :—

(1) A pointed-bottomed jar, about 2 feet in length, lying on its side, exactly under and flush with the western face of the wall, and found, when opened, to contain the bodies of two infants (probably twins). This is the first time that two infants have been found in one jar. The mouth of the jar had been broken in order to permit of the insertion of the bodies.

(2, 3) Two shallow bowls with moulded rims, deposited above the jar, No. 1.

(4, 5) Two plain hemispherical saucers, one inside the other, and both inside the bowl, No. 2.

(6) A jug with a round mouth and one handle, standing upright behind the jar, No. 1, and consequently under the middle of the wall.

(7, 8) Two lamps, one inside the other, placed between No. 1 and No. 9.

(9) A small jug with one handle, placed beside No. 6.

On the plate are diagrams of the various members of the deposit, and of the method of their arrangement.

This elaborate deposit, which is quite the most important yet found, seems to indicate an evolution in the foundation-rite that may be outlined as follows :—

(a) A sacrifice in which an infant was built into the wall, probably (if analogy with the customs of other countries and races be reliable) alive.

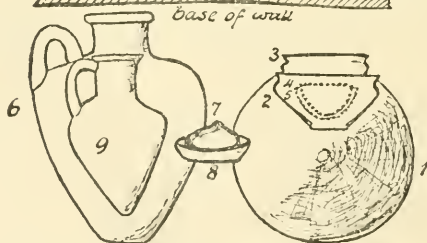
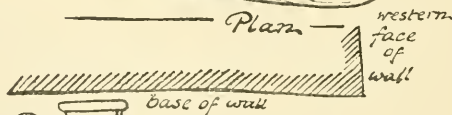
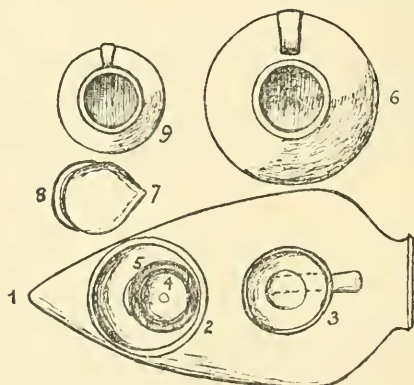
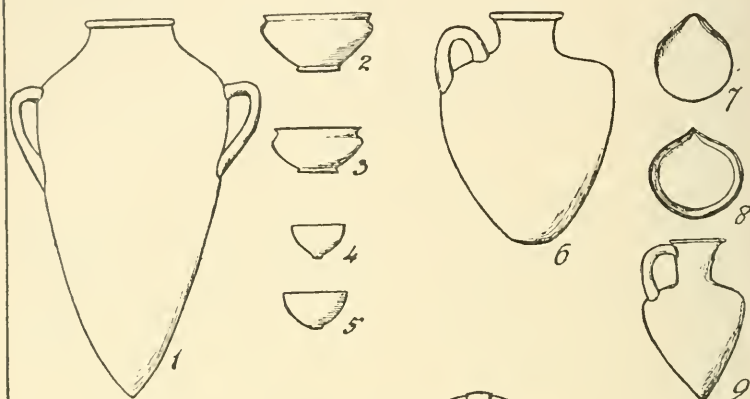
(β) The previous slaughter of the victim and the deposition of the body in a jar, as in the temple sacrifices.

(γ) Addition of other vessels of pottery to the jar containing the body, possibly containing food for the victim.

¹ [Photographic views of this pottery group will be reproduced in the concluding Memoir.]

EXCAVATION OF CEZER

CROUPED POTTERY DEPOSIT



0 in 3 6 9 12

Elevation facing S.

W. H. Woodhouse

(*c*) Addition of a permanent symbolisation of the act of sacrifice, consisting of a lamp, typical of fire, and a bowl or bowls containing blood or some substitute for it.

(*e*) Omission of the human victim and retention of the symbols.

That the lamp and bowl deposits have a certain parallelism with the infant sacrifices is perhaps indicated by the fact that at Tell el-Hesi, where the infant jars were filled with fine sand, the lamp and bowl groups were also filled with sand or fine earth. At Gezer, on the other hand, where the infant jars are not so filled, the lamp and bowl groups with fine earth in them, differing from the earth with which they are surrounded, are distinctly exceptional, although within two hours' walk from the site of Gezer, on the ground where Ramleh stands now, an inexhaustible supply of sand could be obtained if it were considered indispensable for either purpose.

§ V.—EGYPTIAN OBJECTS.


The Egyptian objects found during the past quarter are of the same classes as those described in previous reports—fragments of saucers made of paste covered with green enamel and ornamented with brown lines, beads, figures of Bes and other divinities, Horus-eyes and other amulets, and scarabs.

Hardly a day passes in which some evidence of Egyptian occupation or influence is not forthcoming, whether the work happens to be in progress in the earlier or in the later strata. Until the discovery of historical inscriptions no very certain conclusions can be drawn from this, but judging from the distribution of objects from Egypt it seems certain that that country was dominant over Gezer throughout its history as no other foreign nation seems to have been. Of the hypothetical "Land of Muşri" (which ought to be revealing some evidence of its existence through Solomon's marriage with its supposed princess) no trace has yet been found.

Scarabs apparently were imported to serve as seals, a possession for which there probably was as great a craze in the east in ancient as in modern times. This is possibly the reason why hardly any have been found with royal names. Their use as potters' stamps for jar-handles has already been described and illustrated; during this quarter I have found examples of weaver's weights bearing impressions of scarabs, which is a novelty, as well as a fragment of a jar-stopper with such an impression stamped upon it three times.

A considerable number of uninscribed specimens have, however, also been found, showing that scarabs were not only used for seals; they had probably the same value as amulets in Gezer as in Egypt.

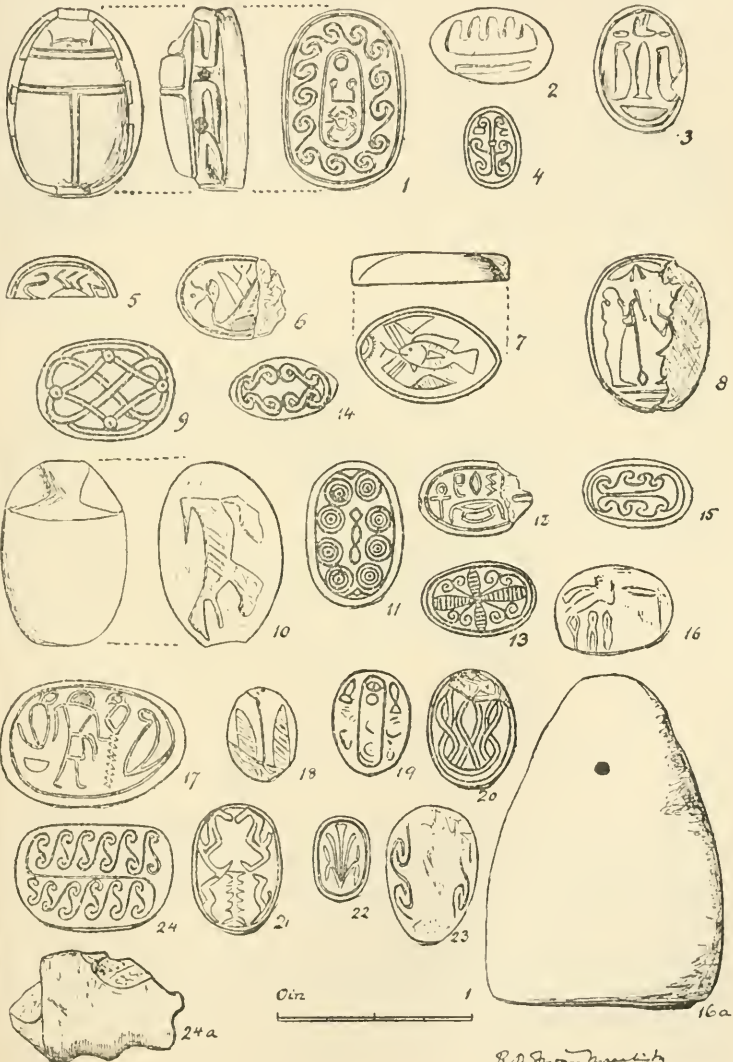
As in the previous report I can best display the scarabs discovered during the quarter in tabular form:—

| No. | Fig. on Pl. IV. | Stratum. | Material. | Device, &c. |
|-----|-----------------|-----------------|------------------------|---|
| 1 | 1 | III | White steatite .. | K'hpr-r' in an oval (2 Usertesen I). |
| 2 | 2 | III | Green enamelled paste. | <i>mn.</i> |
| 3 | 3 | III | Green enamelled paste. | <i>hn</i> between two <i>nræi</i> , <i>nb</i> below; above indistinguishable (probably a flying scarabæus). |
| 4 | — | III | Green enamelled paste. | No device. |
| 5 | 4 | III | Steatite | Symmetrical ornament. |
| 6 | — | IV | Blue enamelled paste. | No device. |
| 7 | — | IV | Blue enamelled paste. | <i>imn</i> (Amen). |
| 8 | 5 | IV | Green enamelled paste. | A scorpion (half broken away). |
| 9 | 6 | IV | Green enamelled paste. | A bird. |
| 10 | 7 | V | Diorite | A fish. |
| 11 | 10 | VI | Limestone .. | A lioness. |
| 12 | — | From a cistern | Amethyst .. | No device. |
| 13 | 8 | From a cistern | Ivory | Divinity with worshipper. |
| 14 | — | From a cistern | Hæmatite .. | No device. |
| 15 | — | From a cistern | Hæmatite .. | No device. |
| 16 | — | From a cistern | Green serpentine | Simple pattern () |
| 17 | — | Depth not noted | Hæmatite .. | No device. |
| 18 | — | Depth not noted | Jade | No device. |
| 19 | — | Depth not noted | Amethyst .. | No device. |
| 20 | — | Depth not noted | Amethyst .. | No device (a gold mount remaining on this scarab). |
| 21 | 9 | Depth not noted | Stone | Ornamental pattern. |
| 22 | 11 | Depth not noted | Steatite | Ornamental pattern. |
| 23 | 12 | Depth not noted | Steatite | <i>nb</i> and other characters. |

The scarab-seals on jar-handles are, as will be seen, of the usual kind—principally symmetrical interlacing ornaments characteristic of middle empire scarabs. The most remarkable of the series is Fig. 17 on the plate, found impressed, not on a jar-handle, but on the top of a weaver's weight. Fig. 16*a* represents a similar weight

EXCAVATION OF CEZER

SCARABS (1-12) & STAMPS (13-24)



(drawn to half the scale of the plate) with the seal on its crest. Fig. 24*a* is the fragment of a bottle-stopper (also drawn to half scale) which has already been mentioned ; Fig. 24 is the seal itself.

A small green enamel paste figure of Isis and Nephthys and a curious little statuette in the same material of two cats are the only other Egyptian objects found this quarter requiring illustration.

§ VI.—INSCRIBED STONES.

Several fragments of clunch bearing devices, and two with writing, have been found in the Seleucid stratum this quarter. Of the former the most curious is a fragment with three palm trees. Another seems to represent a portion of a seated figure on a chair.



FIG. 5.—Inscribed Stone.

The two stones with writing are more interesting. The first (Fig. 5) bears two rudely scratched figures of animals and the opening letters of the Greek alphabet, $\Delta\beta\gamma\delta\epsilon$. The first four letters are repeated, with the capital Δ substituted for the uncial δ . Underneath the first of these letter-rows were evidently written the opening letters of the Hebrew alphabet, $\aleph\beta\gamma\delta$, but unfortunately a fracture of the stone has carried away all but the first and last of these.



FIG. 6.—First Face.

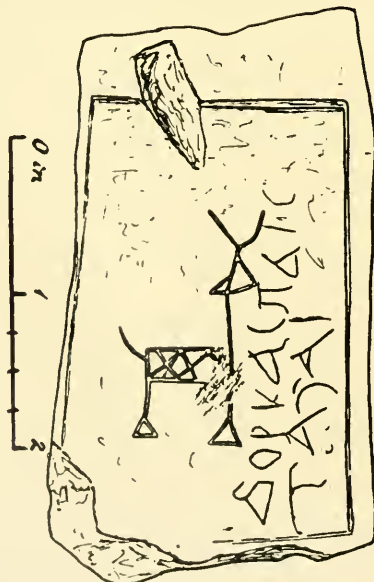


FIG. 7.—Fourth Face.

This is all probably merely a schoolboy's or idle person's scribbling. Much more curious is the second of the inscribed stones. It is a block of clunch, $3\frac{3}{4}$ inches high, $2\frac{3}{4}$ inches broad, and $2\frac{1}{2}$ inches thick. These are the *mean* measurements, for the object is irregularly formed and not one of its sides or ends is truly rectangular. It has all the appearance of being a small votive object in the form of an altar, and such I take it to be. All four faces are inscribed in Greek.

The first face (Fig. 6) is recessed within a much broken frame; a tongue projects upwards over the face of the panel from the lower border, $\frac{3}{4}$ inch long, $\frac{3}{8}$ inch across. The inscription is easily legible:

ΗΡΑΚΛΕΟΥΣ
ΝΕΙΚΗ
ΕΥΝΗΛΟΥ
ΠΟΗ[Σ]ΙΣ

But the interpretation is not so easy. *Νείκη*, "a quarrel, judicial dispute, battle," does not seem to make any intelligible sense: so far as I can see the second word must be meant for *νίκη*, "victory," and the whole must imply that the object is "the workmanship of Eunêlos" in acknowledgment of a "victory" of some kind which he has gained and ascribes to the favour of Hêracles. The fourth letter of *πόησις* (for *ποίησις*) is the only damaged or doubtful character on this face; it has been lost by a fracture of the stone.

The second face is similar to the first, but broader; it also has a frame surrounding it with a projecting tongue below, in this case J-shaped. The writing on this and the two remaining faces reads vertically from bottom to top; that on the first face is in four horizontal lines. At the top is a device of random lines which I am totally unable to explain or describe; the drawing, which has been prepared with the aid of a camera lucida, shows its nature. The lower right-hand corner of this face is broken off, and some letters lost of the inscription, which runs as follows:—

ΕΥΝΗΛΟΥΙΩ
ΝΟC
ΙΔΩ
ΙΝΔCΙΟΥ
ΕΟΡΤΗ
* * * ΚΙΟΥ

In the first two lines we have again the name of Eunêlos, with that of, probably, his father Iôn. The fourth and fifth lines mean "the feast of Inasios," which is not very illuminating. In the middle is **IAΩ**, the Greek form of the Hebrew Divine name **יהוה** which is surely unexpected on an altar dedicated to Hêracles; it can only be explained as an illustration of the overlap of creeds, and of the influence of the religion of the Yahweh-worshippers on the Greek settlers in the town. The last line might be restored in many ways. It is tempting to think of *Ἀκρίου*, the name upon the boundary stones; but no restoration can be more than a doubtful guess.

The third face bears four lines of writing within a simple ornamental border. The writing is much worn, and no grammatical or, indeed, intelligible sequence of words seems to emerge from such of the letters as are still decipherable (asterisks denote letters which are broken from the stone):—

ΔΤΔΦ[ΗΧ?]ΕΙ
ΤΟ * ΝΙΚΑ *
ΟΝ[ΟΙΧ?] * ΧΕ[ΡΩ?]
ΧΟ[ΡΤ?] * ΝΑC

The above unpromising result is the fruit of several hours spent over this part of the inscription under different conditions of illumination.

On the fourth face (Fig. 7) is a rude representation of a gazelle, and an inscription in two lines. The inscription gives the name:—

ΔΟΡΚΑΣΠΑΙC
ΤΑΤΑΙ

"Doreas, child of Tatai," the latter name being so rudely scratched that its decipherment is doubtful. The gazelle is obviously a canting allusion to the name Doreas. This side is apparently palimpsest, a faint **Δ** between the horns of the gazelle being a surviving letter of a previous inscription, of which there are not wanting other traces, though the face has been carefully smoothed to prepare it for the reception of the existing writing. Similar traces, but less definite, appear in the third face.

The stone would thus seem to have been a votive model of an altar, dedicated to Hêracles by Eunêlos, son of Iôn, which subse-

quently fell into profane hands, by whom the various incoherent scribbles about "the feast of Inasios" and "Doreas, child of Tatai," were added. The inscription on the third face may possibly be magical.

§ VII.—CAVES AND CISTERNS.

The caves and cisterns continue to be found in undiminished numbers, and are usually so prolific in objects of one class or another that the discovery of an entrance to such an excavation is generally hailed with delight by the gang of workmen in whose section the cave happens to be. No new light has been thrown on the troglodyte inhabitants; two or three examples of troglodyte dwellings, with the characteristic staircase at the entrance, have been found, but in each case the cave had been subsequently deepened and turned into a cistern. The most remarkable cave-deposit found was one already alluded to in "Notes and News" of the last number of the *Quarterly Statement*. The cave was an excavation of the usual irregular, low-roofed type which we have now learned to associate with the troglodyte dwellers in Gezer, approached by a narrow staircase cut in the rock. The main chamber had in later times been cleared out, and contained nothing characteristic, potsherds only being found in the débris; but in a small chamber at the side was found a series of 15 vessels, nearly all perfect, some small jugs a few inches long, some fine jars 2 feet or more high, and one or two dishes. They were empty, and did not seem to have been deposited with any other purpose beyond mere storage. One of the dishes, a magnificent flat tray, in red ware, 1 foot 5 inches in diameter, had been broken before being deposited—a wedge-shaped fragment being knocked out of the rim—and repaired by riveting, the holes for the rivets being bored through the pottery on each side of the lines of fracture. This method of repairing the more valuable pieces of pottery was well known in Palestine, and several examples have been found—the most remarkable being a jug that had been broken into at least a dozen pieces, some of which were found heaped together, all displaying several rivet-holes round the edges. The rivets were probably bronze, but no example has yet been found *in situ*. I am inclined to suspect (if I do not misunderstand the published description) that the "hole-months" which have been enumerated as one of the characteristics of Amorite pottery are in reality rivet-holes.

The most remarkable and important excavation—setting aside the caves found in connection with the new high place, to be described in a following section—has been a cistern, which, like the cistern already illustrated and named the “Second Burial Cave,” was used as a depository for human remains. In a separate paper (printed in this issue of the *Quarterly Statement*) is an osteological account of the remains themselves: here I need only describe the excavation. It is of the usual bell-shaped or rather cylindrical form with slightly domed roof, and a single circular shaft in the centre of the ceiling. The depth is 20 feet, the diameter 16 feet 6 inches. In the centre of the floor is the usual hollow for the collection of dregs and impurities. Silt had accumulated to a depth of 2 feet before the bodies were thrown in, and very little except a few potsherds, rather early, some nondescript fragments of bronze, and a scarab (Plate IV, Fig. 8) was found in this lower stratum. Above the silt was a stratum of bones, mingled with large stones, to a depth of 1 foot 11 inches. The bones were nearly all human, but the common domestic animals, and also the deer and gazelle, were represented. The state of the bones, which were all disarticulated, showed that the bodies had not been buried (as they unquestionably were, notwithstanding their haphazard arrangement in the Second Burial Cave), but thrown into water, where they had floated about and macerated before finally settling down. Above the bone stratum was another course of alluvial silt, 3 feet 4 inches deep. The most curious feature of the cistern is the series of cup-marks cut in the rock all round its mouth, which are too small to be of any use for watering cattle or any similar purpose. One other instance of a cistern-mouth surrounded by a group of small cup-marks has been found on the tell (in this case nothing extraordinary was found in clearing the cistern), and a third exists on an adjoining hillside. With one exception—the leg-bones of a small goat—none of the bones bear any mark of fire, otherwise I should have been tempted to consider this cistern as having been adopted by the temple authorities as a receptacle for refuse and the remains of human and other victims. More probably it was used as a plague-pit; among the many stories and rumours that gossip circulated during the cholera epidemic last year were tales of the disposal of the bodies of victims of the disease by casting them into cisterns.

While on the subject of deposits of human remains I may here refer to a curious discovery at the south end of the Temple trench

in the early Canaanite stratum. This was a bank of solid, compact earth about 7 feet long and 1 foot wide, containing within it a number of bones. These consisted of 11 human skulls, several long bones, and a quantity of cows' teeth; there were no other bones, and the heads had certainly been severed before being piled up. They were interspersed with stones and potsherds. Unfortunately the long bones were all splintered, and the earth in which the skulls were embedded was so hard that it was found a practical impossibility to recover them except in small fragments.

§ VIII.—THE SUPPOSED ROCK-CUT HIGH PLACE.

On Plate **M** will be found a plan of the rock surface about 120 feet south of the alignment of pillar stones. It will be seen that over an area of about 90 feet north to south, 80 feet east to west, maximum dimensions, the whole surface is covered with cup-marks and hollows ranging from a few inches to 5 or 6 feet in diameter; and that underneath it is a series of three remarkable caves.

The plan, with the explanations here given, will make a detailed description unnecessary.¹ The outlines of the caves are indicated by hatched lines; walls immediately overlying the rock-surface are cross-hatched. These walls are with one possible exception all later than the period of the cup-marks; not only will several examples be noticed of cups being partly concealed by them, but in nearly all there has been time for an accumulation of earth of at least 1 foot deep, to cover the rock-surface before the walls were built. This earth contained sherds of the oldest types of pottery — that associated with the troglodyte dwellings, and a layer of burning covered its top in some places, as though vegetation had been burnt off its surface before the building commenced. Three strata of building overlay the walls shown in this plan; a good idea of the high antiquity of the rock surface will be obtained from these data.

The one exception which has been referred to in the preceding paragraph is a curved wall of very rude masonry, built with small stones set in mud, enclosing an L-shaped space around a rock-cut staircase leading to the largest of the three caves presently to be described. This wall appears contemporary with the staircase with which it is associated, and with the exception of one or two

¹ [Photographs of the supposed High Place are held over until the concluding Memoir.]

insignificant fragments whose purpose can no longer be discovered, is the only wall of the group founded on the rock itself.

The cup-marks exposed are in all 83 in number. One of these, partly concealed by a large wall, is 8 feet in diameter and 9 inches deep. Two more, one of them at the north end of the system and one in the middle, are 6 feet in diameter. Two others are 3 feet in diameter; these are at the western side of the system, and have the peculiarity of being partly surrounded by small standing stones set on end and cemented together with mud—exactly resembling the circle described and illustrated in the first of this series of reports. Beside them is a third structure of a similar nature partly surrounding a natural hollow in the rock which seems to have been adapted for the same purpose as the artificial hollows, whatever that may have been. The remaining cups are all small, on an average 6 or 8 inches across and 5 inches deep. A few are of the familiar circular saucer-shape; the majority, however, are of a form that I have not seen elsewhere, except in another small group on this tell—rectangular in outline, and shaped like the segment of a cylinder, the two long sides of the hollow being vertical, the short sides curving regularly downwards to the middle. In two cases there is a deeper hollow at one end of a cup, and in two cases four cups are cut so close together that they form a composite group. One cup, circular in form and rather larger than the average, has a channel leading to it.

With regard to the distribution of the cups, it is to be noted that with one remarkable exception they are all cut on projecting tables of the rock surface, which is here remarkably irregular in outline and split up by deep hollows, perhaps partly artificial, though in any case very slightly so. The one exception is a large circular cup situated in the middle of one of the deepest hollows at the western side of the system.

The most suggestive detail in connection with the group is to be seen close to the series of cups surrounded by standing stones. This is an orifice, too narrow to admit a full-grown man, leading into the roof of one of the three caves underneath the rock-surface. This orifice is 1 foot wide, cut at the bottom of a cup-mark 2 feet 8 inches wide, 3 feet 6 inches deep; a rectangular drain 4 feet 6 inches long, 2 feet 2 inches wide, leads into it from the north-west. It is obvious that this cave was used as the receptacle for some material poured into it through the orifice.

The caves are excavated under the steep eastern face of the principal rock-table of the system, on which the largest number of cup-marks are congregated. Commencing with that to the south, the first is 32 feet long, 20 feet broad, and 8 feet in maximum height. The plan is irregular; the greatest length from north-west to south-east. No certain indications of chisel-marks are to be detected in the friable limestone in which it is cut. There are three entrances, including the narrow orifice described in the preceding paragraph. One is a tall, narrow doorway on the east side, approached by a narrow passage sloping downwards; the left hand (southern) side of this doorway is built up with rough rubble masonry set in mud. The second is a narrow creep-passage under a projecting shelf of the rock-table, which, if necessary, could easily be concealed. The floor steps upward about 2 feet in the apsidal projection, into which the narrow orifice opens.

The second cave is a small hollow sunk in the rock, only about half-covered by the rock-table, and lined on the northern and eastern sides with crude masonry. There are two broad, shallow, circular cup-marks in the floor of the cave. It is 14 feet 2 inches long (the eastern 7 feet of which is open and uncovered), and 9 feet broad.

The third cave is a very extraordinary excavation. It is, roughly speaking, a large rectangular chamber, its northern half divided by a projecting partition into two bays; from the western of these bays another projects westward. The present maximum dimensions of the excavation (exclusive of the small westward bay) are 36 feet by 38 feet, height of roof 11 feet 6 inches. Apparently it was originally longer towards the south; but a subsidence seems to have at some time taken place whereby the rock roof was cracked and partly fell in, after which a wall of rude masonry was built along the whole south side supporting the remainder of the roof. This cuts the small second cave off from the cave under discussion; originally they seem to have formed one excavation. A flight of steps leading downward through the fractured entrance to the cave has been made in this wall, but a narrow staircase, bent at right angles at the top and enclosed in a rude wall, on the eastern side, is evidently the original approach to the cave. In front of the end of the partition is an excavation in the floor (not yet fully cleared out) apparently a pool or cistern; this is not indicated on the plan. The floor of the cave was originally care-

fully worked smooth, but except round the walls it has been broken up and deepened to a depth of about 9 inches, possibly by treasure-seekers of a later generation.

Unfortunately nothing was found in this cave to give any hint as to its purpose or age. The potsherds were not very distinctive, and all the antiquities had evidently been washed in with later silt; two iron arrowheads, for instance, were undoubtedly of a period long subsequent to the original excavation. The small figure of two cats referred to above was also found here. The walls showed no marks of metal tools; the indications sharply preserved on some parts of the soft rock-surface rather seemed to point to wooden, flint, or horn implements, as the marks indicated the existence of serrated edges in the tools such as no metal chisel would have had. On the inner wall of the western bay occurs a **X** clearly cut, and above it a mark like **V**; these are the only other traces of the ancient occupants of the cave.

The principal observation remaining with regard to this cave is its remarkable similarity in plan to the important cave at Tell Sandahannah, No. 34 of the detailed list in *Excavations in Palestine*, pp. 248-250, Plate 102. The Gezer cave is simpler, but the essential details—a rectangular chamber partly divided by a projecting partition, and with subsidiary chambers opening off the bays—are identical in both.

It may be assumed that this system of rock cuttings had some use to those who originally made it. If so, it must have served some simple economic purpose or else one more esoteric. It is impossible, so far as I can see, to assign any economic purpose that will suit all the indications; there are important elements in the system that would be equally useless if we are to regard it as a place for fulling, for watering cattle, for pounding corn, or for pressing olives. On the other hand, little or nothing is known about the religious rites of the aboriginal inhabitants of the country; and if the second hypothesis be entertained the exact purpose of the various members of the system cannot as yet be assigned with any approach to certainty. If, however, we may call in the aid of Semitic analogies—and how far Semitic religion may not be modelled on pre-Semitic beliefs we cannot say—a very consistent series of suggestions may be brought forward. That cup-marks have some sacrificial significance may be admitted as at least probable, though how they were exactly used may be for

the present dismissed as an indeterminate question. In the southern cave I would see an adytum, with a secret entrance that could easily be concealed from the *profanus vulgus* (the large eastern entrance is perhaps a later work, though of this there is no direct evidence), and with a "shoot" whereby sacrificial blood and other offerings could be committed to the gods of the underworld. In this connection it is remarkable that a considerable number of pig-bones—an animal whose remains very seldom occur elsewhere on the tell—were found inside the cave. The large double cave was possibly a residence for the priests, but this can only be regarded as a guess.

A word may be added about some of the later structures and excavations to be seen indicated on the plan. The large wall, 4 feet 2 inches thick, partly enclosing a square space, is evidently the foundation of a building of great importance: it is one of the finest pieces of masonry yet uncovered on the mound. It is certainly much later than the rock-surface; in one place a plaster floor has been laid down previous to its erection on the surface of the rock, and fragments of it remain on each side of the wall. There are five round stones, four inside the enclosure and one outside, apparently connected with this building. Possibly they are the foot-stones of wooden posts or columns.





The mouth of a cistern will also be seen in the plan. This has not yet been completely cleared. It is evidently an old troglodyte dwelling adapted as a cistern, for the steps still remain at its mouth.

One of the most remarkable discoveries yet made on the tell is the enormous pool at the south of the rock-surface. It is 46 feet wide and 57 feet long, and at the moment of writing has been cleared to a depth of 22 feet; there is nothing to show how much deeper it may not be. The date of this pool is very difficult to assign; that it remained open till the latest period of occupation is evident from the total absence of walls and of antiquities in the earth with which it was covered. But whether it was excavated in the Seleucid period or was an older reservoir handed on from generation to generation of the city's inhabitants—like the so-called Pool of Hezekiah in Jerusalem—is a question on which decisive data are not yet forthcoming. The latter seems the more probable, as the successive strata of building superposed to the walls indicated on the plan all dip towards the pool as though they had grown up

round it. It was found to be filled with large stones, many of them drafted and moulded—the cast-away materials of some building which had apparently been pulled down. Probably they came from the large square building already mentioned, or from one of the buildings in an upper stratum.

ADDENDA.

April, 1903.—Page 118, line 13 below the stave of music, for “concave” read “convex.”

Page 124, line 4 from end, the Egyptian sign  is misprinted ; also on page 125, line 2, after  add (for ).

July, 1903.—Pages 209, 210. The objects shown in Figs. 8 and 10 are not bone, but ivory.

Pages 216–218. I find that I was misinformed as to the names of some of the water-sources referred to in this section, though the argument is not affected thereby. The well called Bîr et-Tirâsheh should really be named Bîr el-Balad; the name in the text, which ought to be spelt Bîr et-Tayâsheh (without *r*), properly belongs to a more distant well, north of Bîr el-Lusîyeh, and not entering into the discussion.

REPORT ON THE HUMAN REMAINS FOUND AT GEZER, 1902–3.

By Professor A. MACALISTER, M.D., F.R.S.

PORTIONS of human skeletons have been obtained from four localities:—

- (1) From the deepest stratum, lying immediately upon the rock.
- (2) From the second stratum.
- (3) From the area of the great standing stones on the horizon of their bases.
- (4) From a cistern on the east side of the “High Place.”

(1) Unfortunately the bones found in the deepest stratum were fragmentary. They were parts of two skulls, both unusually thick; with them were fragments of limb bones too small to indicate the exact stature, but enough to show that the individuals were under

the middle height. The skulls seemed to have been moderately broad, but were too incomplete for measurement.

(2) From the second stratum came an anomalously-shaped female skull, spheno-cephalic, with a length-breadth index of 78, flattened at the lambdoid region and somewhat flat-topped. It belonged to a woman probably over 45 years of age. There were no whole limb bones with it, only some broken fragments.

(3) From the temple area the skull was a fairly capacious well-formed male skull, which in all characters was comparable with those of the next group.

(4) The remains of 18 individuals were found in the cistern; of these 14 were men, two were women, one a child of about 12 years, and one an infant. In this cistern the bodies were not disposed in any order. They were found, not on the rock floor, as in the cistern described last year, but upon a thick layer of clay silt about $1\frac{1}{2}$ feet deep. They mostly lay directly under the mouth of the cistern, and many large stones had fallen in with and over them. Above the stony layer about 3 feet of earth had been washed in at a subsequent period. The bones of the skeletons were not found together, but there was no sign of artificial dismemberment. It seemed rather as if they had lain in the water of the cistern and had become separated in the ordinary course of decomposition, becoming washed asunder in the course of the periodic inflow of water during the rains. In character the skulls closely resembled those in the last burial cistern. The male skulls were ellipsoidal, capacious, some a short broad ellipse in *norma verticalis*, others a little narrower. The indexes of the three widest were 76.5, and those of the others ranged from 73 to 75. The female skulls are somewhat ovoidal with indexes of 76. In all, the foreheads are rounded, most prominent medially at the metopion, the brow ridges are moderate, the occipital regions are generally slightly flattened and the sides steep.

In all those in which the facial bones have remained the facial region was elongated and narrow, though wide at the cheekbones, the palate rounded, the teeth large, and in those of advanced age much worn, the lower jaw oblique, with somewhat receding chin. The orbits were wide and the nasal region long and narrow, the nasal bones being fairly high-pitched.

The long bones, though in bad condition, were sufficiently sound to be measured when exposed *in situ* before being lifted. From

these we obtained definite data as to stature. One male skeleton must have been a few mm. over 6 feet in height, but the others were much shorter and ranged from 5 feet 4 inches to 5 feet 9 inches. The females were about 5 feet 2 inches and 5 feet 3 inches respectively. None of the femora were pilastered, but two were platymeric. The neck angle of the femur was very variable in both sexes. The tibiæ of six of the skeletons showed the small flexion facets due to extreme bending of the ankle, and extensions of the flexion surfaces were well marked in the knee and hip joints. None of the tibiæ were platynemic.

The race to which these bones belonged must have been in almost all physical characters identical with that represented by the fellahîn who are the present inhabitants of this portion of the land. I have been able to make a considerable number of observations on the physical characters of the fellahîn of this district, and have been very much struck with the singularly close conformity between them and their ancient Semitic predecessors. Among the workpeople on the tell and the inhabitants of the neighbouring villages both facial and other characters closely correspond to those of the Amorites. The average male stature here is between 5 feet 6 inches and 5 feet 7½ inches, but I have seen three men over 6 feet in height. The female stature ranges from 4 feet 11 inches to 5 feet 6 inches. The heads of the men are almost all dolichellipsoid, with rounded foreheads only moderately prominent at the frontal eminences, but bulging medially. The brows are fairly heavy, often rising at their lateral end, and scarcely ever synophryous; the noses for the most part prominent and fairly straight, with large cartilages and alæ, but with narrow nostrils. In a few the nose is slightly aquiline, very rarely concave. The inter-orbital width is considerable, and the columna nasi wide. The malar regions are moderately prominent, giving a width to the lower orbital region of the face. The chin is weak, tending to recede owing to the obliquity of the jaws; the lips fairly thick and often prominent; the eyes usually fairly large and prominent, with irides ranging in colour from yellow-brown to dark blackish brown. Facial hair is not very abundant or general, in colour ranging from dark brown to black; where there is a beard, it is short and curly.

There are, of course, a number of exceptions. One man from Zakariyeh has peculiarly Mongolian features—a wide flat face, and

oblique eyes with epicanthal folds. Two others have low-bridged noses, somewhat concave in outline. One especially has a deep fronto-nasal notch and a short nose very prominent at the tip.

The female faces are proportionally wider and shorter than the males. The head outlines are more ovate and more rounded in the occipital region. The foreheads are generally flatter, the noses seldom quite straight or high-bridged, usually flatter at the upper bony portion, and widening to the alar region. The nostrils are, in consequence, often more oblique than in the males. The chin is small and rounded, its apparent recession exaggerated by the habit of keeping the mouth open. The eyes have irides varying from very dark brown to black, but in two girls they are of a very light yellowish brown colour. I have not seen any blue eyes even in those with the fairest hair. The blackest eyes here are in some small women who may be of gipsy origin. The hair is usually dark brown or black, with a slight inclination to curl on each side of the forehead. In one, however, the hair is distinctly fair, and in another it is of a light chestnut brown colour. Well-formed, slender, aquiline noses and symmetrical features are the exception, the standard of good looks being distinctly lower among the females than among the males. The photographs¹ taken represent very well the extreme ranges of characters met with, as well as the most prevailing types of face.

As the men often sit on the ground with knees and ankles acutely flexed, it is probable that they, like their Amorite prototypes, possess the flexion facets above mentioned in these joints, which are of the same nature as those described in the Panjabi by Professor Havelock Charles.

In the foot I note that in the majority the great toe is set straight on the metatarsal, not bent outwards in the way described as normal by Dr. Joseph Griffiths; in the males the second toe appears generally to be a little longer than the first, but this is not the case in the females. The general physique of the Palestinian fellahin seems in all respects superior to that of the Egyptian. This is especially marked in the muscular development of the shoulders and of the calves of the legs.

[P.S.—Just as this report was finished a number of skeletons have been found in another cemetery near the temenos described

¹ [A number of the most characteristic are held over until the final Memoir.—ED.]

in an earlier report. The bones are in bad condition, but as far as I have been able to examine and measure them, they are quite comparable with those above described, and seem to belong to the same Semitic race.]

THE TOMB OF NICANOR OF ALEXANDRIA.¹

By Miss GLADYS DICKSON.

AT the north end of the Mount of Olives, beside the carriage road on the east side of the road in the field belonging to Mr. Gray Hill and adjoining his house on the north, an interesting tomb has recently been opened.

The tomb consists of four independent groups of chambers (in this description numbered in order I to IV from north to south), ranged round an entrance vestibule.

The *vestibule* is open, and possibly had pillars in front (like *Mugháret el-Anab* and the "Tombs of the Kings"), but this is uncertain, and requires excavation to determine. The roof, which is now broken down, was 9 feet 9 inches above the floor. The Chamber-groups I and III open off the vestibule by small doors on a level with the floor; II and IV by doors sunk below that level, at the ends of deep rectangular depressions.

Chamber-group I consists of a single main chamber with four subsidiary chambers opening off it, the doorways to which are arched, surrounded by square reveals.

Chamber-group II is very elaborate. The central chamber is roofed with a barrel vault. This is the only chamber in the system with a raised bench running round the walls. This bench is $4\frac{1}{2}$ inches high. The group is unfinished; on the south side of the sinking leading to the entrance from the vestibule, a doorway is blocked out; and in the north-east corner of the main chamber is a square sinking in the floor, with another blocked-out doorway at its east end. Round the main chamber are nine small doors, alternately round-headed in square reveals, and square-headed without reveals. These are lettered *a* to *i* on the plan, beginning at the right hand; *a* is round-headed.

¹ See *Quarterly Statement*, January, p. 93, April, pp. 125-131.

Of these *a, c, d, g* lead to small single chambers. Apparently *i* also did so originally; the symmetry of the design as well as the indications traceable in the chamber itself seem to show this.

The chambers to which *b, e, h* give access lead by inner doorways to further members of the system. These inner doorways were ingeniously concealed. They are at a level lower than that of the doorways from the central chamber, the intervening passage-way being an inclined plane. Broad reveals were left on each side of the inclined plane, no doubt to bear cover slabs, which hid the inner doorways by forming a false floor above them. This whole second group was thus made to resemble the first, by appearing to consist of a central chamber with a series of small single chambers around it.

A similar slope has been cut through the single chamber to which *i* gives access, in order to lead to the sarcophagus chamber. This latter seems to be an afterthought: it is rougher in workmanship than any of the other chambers, and is the only one finished off with a wooden comb on the walls.

Inside *b, e*, the inclined plane leads to a room from which in each case two further chambers open off. In the *b* group one of these is at a yet lower level, having a slope entrance of its own.

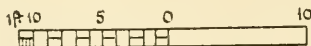
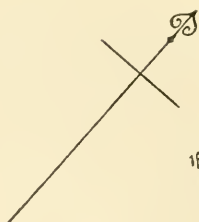
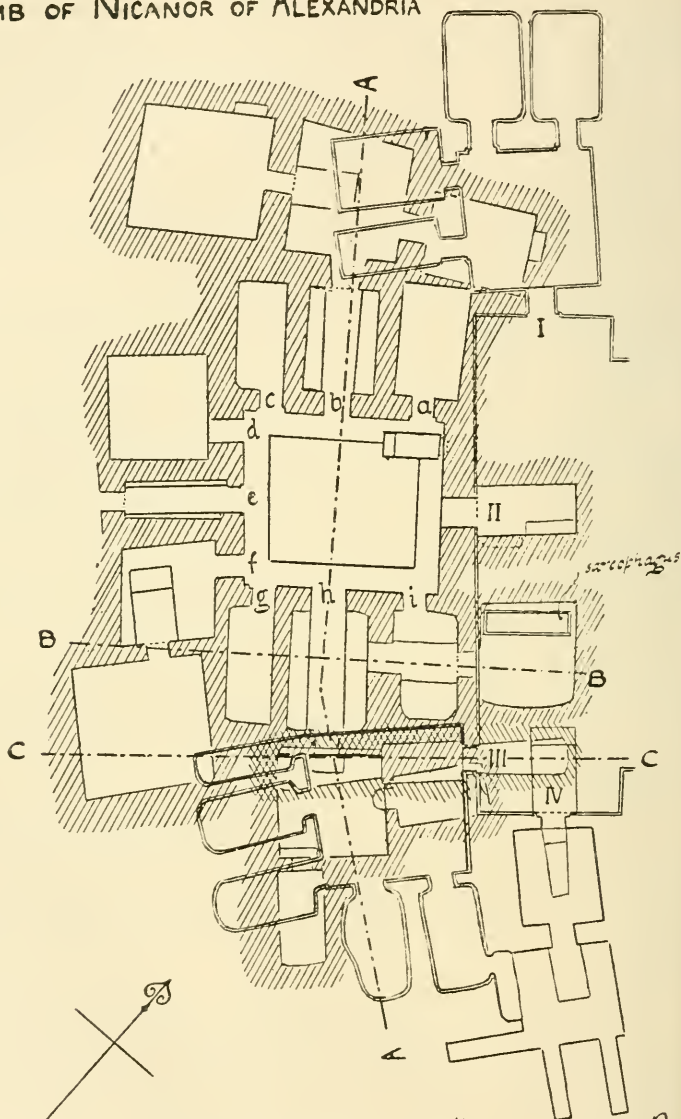
Inside *e*, the doorway at the end of the inclined plane apparently broke out of the knoll of rock in which the tombs are cut, so that further work in this direction was impossible. To make up for this an extra chamber was cut beyond *f*, which by symmetry should have led to a single chamber.

Chamber-group III has a large central chamber with barrel-vaulted roof. It has five subsidiary chambers, rather irregular, round it. These have square-headed entrances without reveals. Just inside the door is a rectangular sinking in the floor, 2 feet 8 inches deep, with a small chamber at each end; one of these extends under the vestibule.

Chamber-group IV contains two chambers. The outer shows no details, except a sunk depression in the middle of the floor. The inner has three *kôkim*, each for a single body, and one arcosolium. There are no other examples of these common forms of graves in the entire excavation.

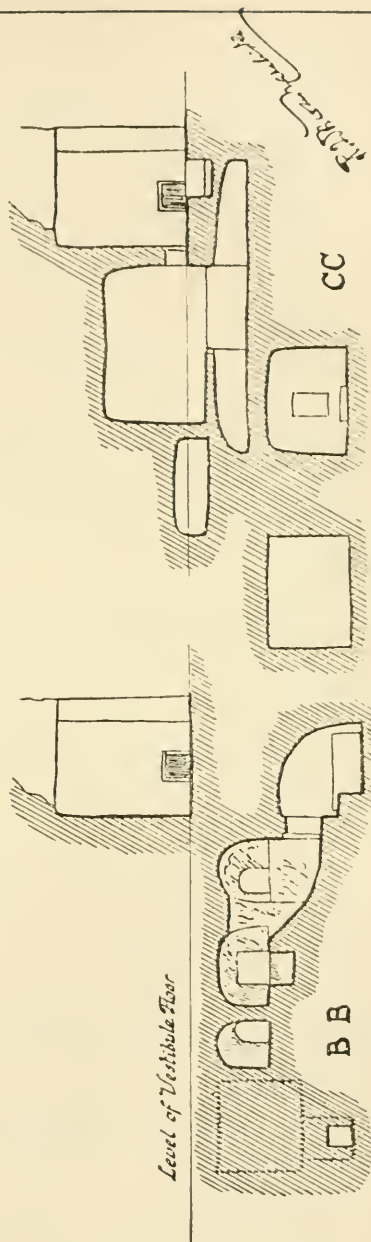
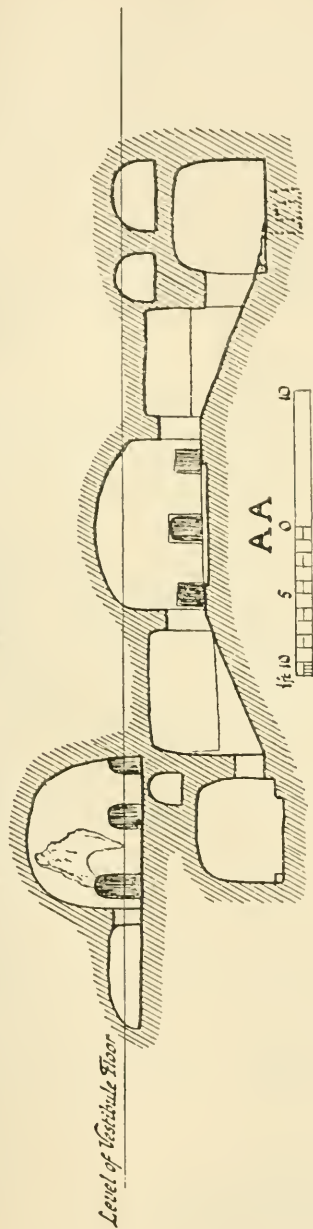
The tombs were disturbed before they could be properly examined, and unfortunately a complete description of the grave deposits cannot be recovered. The objects seen by me consist

TOMB OF NICANOR OF ALEXANDRIA



J. H. M. R. 1917

TOMB OF NICANOR OF ALEXANDRIA : SECTIONS



of a sarcophagus, seven ossuaries, some pottery, and a few lamps.

The sarcophagus is in soft white limestone, without any device or inscription upon it. It measures 6 feet $4\frac{1}{2}$ inches long, 1 foot 10 inches broad, and 2 feet high. It has at some time been violated, the whole of the side against the wall being broken. To carry the sarcophagus into the chamber designed for it must have been a work of considerable difficulty, and entailed some alteration in the internal arrangements of the cave. A doorway was cut between the chambers approached by *h* and *i*; and besides the formation of the inclined plane, the chamber inside *i* was roughly enlarged and its walls hacked in places in order to make the manipulation of the sarcophagus possible.

The following is a description of the ossuaries. All but one are, in shape, of the ordinary type rectangular boxes, slightly tapering downwards, with small feet, and hog-backed lids. The dimensions given are length and breadth of upper surface and height (exclusive of lid):—

I.—2 feet 4 inches by $10\frac{1}{2}$ inches by 1 foot 3 inches. Plain.

II.—2 feet 3 inches by $11\frac{1}{2}$ inches by 1 foot $1\frac{1}{2}$ inches. Plain.

III.—This is not of ordinary shape; it is a large rectangular box of limestone (not of soft clunch like the others) with straight sides, 2 feet $9\frac{3}{4}$ inches by 1 foot $3\frac{1}{4}$ inches by 1 foot 4 inches. The hollow is 11 inches deep and the sides $2\frac{1}{2}$ inches thick. The lid is ridged like a roof, not hog-backed, and is 10 inches high.

IV.—A small ossuary, probably for a child's bones, 1 foot 3 inches by $8\frac{1}{2}$ inches by $10\frac{1}{2}$ inches. One side is ornamented with the common device of two circles containing sexfoils inside panels formed by zigzag lines.

V.—2 feet $4\frac{1}{2}$ inches by 1 foot by 1 foot 2 inches. One side is ornamented with an unusually beautiful design. In the centre is an acanthus with on each side a circle containing an eight-leaved flower. Round the panel is a simple but very decorative pattern.

VI.—2 feet $2\frac{1}{2}$ inches by 11 inches by 1 foot 2 inches. The surface of this ossuary is painted yellow. One side is ornamented with two circles containing twelve-leaved flowers, in a panel defined by zigzag lines.

VII.—This ossuary (2 feet $5\frac{1}{2}$ inches long by 11 inches by 1 foot) is ornamented on both sides, one end, and the lid. On the other end is an inscription. The ornamentation on one side, the

end, and the lid consists of roughly painted red lines, forming zigzags and frets. The ornament of the remaining side consists of four small circles containing sexfoils within panels, all painted.

The inscription at the other end of the ossuary, which was referred to on p. 93 of the *Quarterly Statement* of January, is as follows :—

ΟCΤΑΤΩΝΤΟΥΝΕΙΚΑ
ΝΟΡΟCΑΛΕΞΑΝΔΡΕΩC
ΠΟΙΗCΑΝΤΟCΤΑCΘΥΡΑC

נקר אלכסא

which has been interpreted as meaning, "The bones of the family of Nicanor of Alexandria," with "Nicanor Aleksa" in Hebrew letters underneath.¹ This gives the name of the man to whose family the tomb belonged.

The cross in the facsimile (p. 126, Fig. 2) has no connection with the inscription; it corresponds to a similar mark on the lid of the ossuary, showing the proper way to turn it in placing it in position. At the opposite ends of both ossuary and lid is a small hole like a finger-print, for the same purpose.

That the tomb was designed locally is shown by its general correspondence with the main features of tombs of the same period elsewhere in Jerusalem. It is possible, however, that some of the workmen employed were not natives of the country; the pick-marks in places show that in cutting the lower parts of some of the chambers the workmen stood and stooped, and did not squat as an Oriental labourer naturally would do.

There are two plain crosses, one cut over the inside of the entrance to Chamber-group II, and the other over the doorway, *b*, in the same group. These possibly indicate that the tomb continued in use by the family after its conversion to Christianity. An alternative explanation—the reappropriation of the tomb by Christians—seems less probable on account of the ossuaries of the original proprietors remaining in the tomb until its recent discovery.

The following list of measurements of the various chambers may be useful :—

¹ See above, p. 126 *sqq.*

| — | | | | Length. | | Breadth. | | Height. | |
|--|----|----|----|--------------------|------|-------------------|------|------------------|------|
| <i>Chamber-Group I.</i> | | | | ft. | ins. | ft. | ins. | ft. | ins. |
| Central chamber | .. | .. | .. | 9 | 11 | { 9 2— 9 8½ } | | 6 | 9 |
| 1st side chamber (left of entrance).. | | | | 9 | 6½ | 3 | 2 | 2 | 10 |
| 2nd „ „ „ „ | | | | 9 | 0 | 5 | 2½ | 3 | 2 |
| 3rd „ „ „ „ | | | | 9 | 10 | 5 | 1 | 3 | 4 |
| 4th „ „ „ „ | | | | 9 | 11½ | 4 | 11 | 3 | 5 |
| <i>Chamber-Group II.</i> | | | | | | | | | |
| Central chamber | .. | .. | .. | { 14 4— 14 10 } | | 12 | 5 | 7 | 10 |
| Chamber <i>a</i> | .. | .. | .. | 10 | 2 | { 4 4½— 5 4 } | | 3 | 9 |
| Passage <i>b</i> | .. | .. | .. | 9 | 5 | 5 | 0 | { 3 9— 7 0 } | |
| Inner chambers <i>b</i> (right hand) | .. | | | 7 | 8 | 6 | 0 | 5 | 0 |
| „ „ (middle) | .. | | | 9 | 11 | 8 | 5 | 6 | 3 |
| „ „ (left hand) | .. | | | 9 | 0 | 8 | 3 | 5 | 5 |
| Chamber <i>c</i> | .. | .. | .. | 9 | 6 | 3 | 3 | 3 | 2 |
| „ <i>d</i> | .. | .. | .. | 9 | 10½ | 7 | 9 | 5 | 8½ |
| Passage <i>e</i> | .. | .. | .. | 8 | 8 | 3 | 10 | { 2 11— 6 6 } | |
| Chamber <i>b</i> | .. | .. | .. | 7 | 2½ | { 7 0— 7 4 } | | 6 | 0 |
| Inner chamber <i>f</i> | .. | .. | .. | 9 | 4 | 9 | 2 | 6 | 0 |
| Chamber <i>g</i> | .. | .. | .. | 9 | 11 | 3 | 8 | 3 | 5 |
| Passage <i>h</i> | .. | .. | .. | 10 | 2 | 5 | 0 | { 3 9— 6 11 } | |
| Inner chambers <i>h</i> (left hand) | .. | | | 7 | 2 | 3 | 2 | 3 | 6 |
| „ „ (central) | .. | | | { 7 7— 8 0 } | | 7 | 10 | 6 | 3 |
| „ „ (right hand) | .. | | | 6 | 9 | 3 | 7½ | 3 | 9 |
| Chamber <i>i</i> , original dimensions | .. | | | 8 | 2 | 0 | 5 | 3 | 8 |
| „ as altered | .. | | | 8 | 2 | 0 | 5 | { 6 2½— 7 3 } | |
| Sarcophagus chamber.. | .. | .. | .. | 7 | 3 | 6 | 11½ | 6 | 0 |
| <i>Chamber-Group III.</i> | | | | | | | | | |
| Central chamber | .. | .. | .. | 10 | 6 | 10 | 4 | 8 | 3 |
| 1st side chamber (left of entrance) | .. | | | 8 | 9 | 4 | 0½ | 2 | 9 |
| 2nd „ „ „ „ | .. | | | 7 | 10 | 4 | 9½ | 2 | 7 |
| 3rd „ „ „ „ | .. | | | 8 | 4 | 3 | 11¹ | 3 | 1½ |
| 4th „ „ „ „ | .. | | | 8 | 2 | { 2 11— 3 5½ } | | 2 | 9½ |
| 5th „ „ „ „ | .. | | | 7 | 10 | 2 | 8½ | 2 | 9½ |
| Sunk chamber under vestibule | .. | | | 7 | 8 | 2 | 4 | 2 | 8 |
| „ under chamber | .. | | | 7 | 11½ | 2 | 9 | 2 | 8 |
| <i>Chamber-Group IV.</i> | | | | | | | | | |
| 1st chamber | .. | .. | .. | 7 | 4 | 6 | 11 | 5 | 11 |
| 2nd „ „ „ „ | .. | | | 6 | 11½ | 6 | 11 | 5 | 6 |
| 1st kók (left from entrance).. | .. | | | 5 | 8½ | 1 | 7 | 2 | 11 |
| 2nd kók | .. | .. | .. | 5 | 11 | 1 | 6½ | 3 | 0 |
| 3rd kók.. | .. | .. | .. | 5 | 6½ | 1 | 5 | 3 | 3 |
| Vestibule | .. | .. | .. | 36 | 5 | 9 | 11 | 9 | 9 |

¹ These measurements vary owing to irregularity in the chamber.

ANOTHER PHOENICIAN INSCRIPTION FROM THE TEMPLE OF EŠMUN AT SIDON.

By Rev. H. PORTER, Ph.D., Syrian Protestant College, Beirut.

THE following inscription is one of a series discovered during 1900-01 among the ruins of a temple in the environs of Sidon, which is determined by the inscriptions themselves to be the temple of Ešmun. A description of these ruins was published by Macridy Bey, who excavated them, in the *Revue Biblique* for October, 1902.¹ He published also in the same number of the *Revue* two inscriptions, which were edited and explained by M. Lagrange. Four other inscriptions from the same place, and of practically the same contents, were published by M. Ph. Berger in a *Mémoire* to the *Académie des Inscriptions et Belles-lettres* in 1902 (tom. xxxvii). A seventh of similar import was published in the *Jour. of the Am. Oriental Soc.*, by Dr. C. C. Torrey (vol. xxiii, first half, 1902).

All these inscriptions differ only in minor particulars, as will be seen by referring to the publications mentioned. The inscription which is here presented is shorter than the others but differs from them in some important points. I obtained the inscription in Sidon, in July, 1902. Whether it was discovered later than the others I am not able to state, as I had no communication with the discoverer, but there is no doubt of its origin from the temple or of its genuineness. I examined it thoroughly before I purchased it, and it has since been examined by Dr. Schroeder and by Dr. Rouvier, and both these gentlemen, who are well qualified to judge, regard it as genuine. The face of the stone and the letters exhibit unmistakable marks of antiquity, and the letters still show traces of the red ochre with which they were originally coloured. The stone is very friable, and was broken evidently in detaching it from the block of which it formed a part. The broken edges and the back of the stone show a freshness in marked contrast to the face. The block is 0·77 by 0·41 *m.*, and the lines of the inscription are from 72 to 74 *cm.* in length. The beginning of the first line is broken and so

¹ [Some account of the present inscription appears in the July number of the *Revue Biblique*, pp. 417-419. Mr. Porter's article, it may be mentioned, was received at the beginning of May.—ED.]

damaged as to be indecipherable. The break is an old one, as the appearance of the surface there is similar to the rest of the face of stone. The height of the long letters is from 5 to 7 *cm.* The three lines taken together occupy about 25 *cm.* There are 16 letters remaining in the first line and space for six more, reckoning from the beginning of the second line, which contains 21 letters, and the third 19.

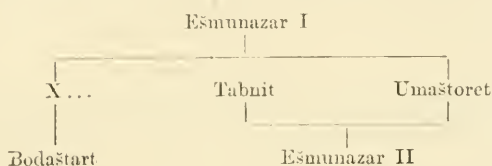
There can be no doubt about the reading of the letters which remain. The break at the end of the first line has probably carried away one letter, which may, however, be easily supplied. The reading in square letters is as follows :—

. . . תו בן צדקיתן מלך מלכ[ם]
 בן בן מלך אשמונעזר מלך צדום
 הבת ו בן לאל[ני] לאשמן שר קדש

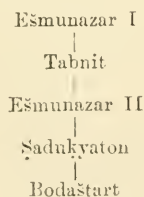
. "son of Šadukyatōn king of kings
 son of the son of king Ešmunazar king of the Sidonians
 built this temple to [his] god, to Ešmun holy prince."

In the other copies of this inscription the first line has "King Bodaštart king of the Sidonians son of the son," &c., and the lacuna of the first line of the above would just contain this name, but the (ר) which follows presents a difficulty. If we read "Bodaštart and the son of Šadukyatōn," it will not correspond to the rest of the inscription, which requires a singular subject. It is difficult to construe the (ר) on any supposition, and I am inclined to regard it as an error of the engraver. The first line of the inscription is quite different from all the others as far as known to me, and it is altogether remarkable. We have here a new name in the list of kings of Sidon, presumably the father of Bodaštart, whose name is unmentioned in all the other copies. It has been inferred from this that Bodaštart's father did not reign, but if we have here the name of his father he not only reigned but assumed the title of "king of kings," not known to have been assumed by any other one of his dynasty. It must refer to a period when Sidon held the hegemony of some of the Phœnician towns, and it is difficult to reconcile this with the condition of things under the rule of the Persian kings or during the period of the Ptolemies, in one of which periods it has generally been supposed that the dynasty of Ešmunazar should be placed. If the title is not a mere vainglorious boast it

must refer to a revolt against the authority of Persia when a king of Sidon assumed the suzerainty of the Phœnician towns, or it may have been in the period previous to the Persian conquest, when Babylon was very weak, subsequent to the reign of Nebuchadrezzar. Sidon was then the leading state, as Tyre had sunk into the background after the siege it underwent in B.C. 598-585 by Nebuchadrezzar. This would, however, place the dynasty of Ešmunazar much earlier than has been supposed possible. The name of this king, *Šadukyaton*, or *Šadikyaton*, conforms in its composition to other names we have in Phœnician inscriptions (*cf. Pumiyaton* and *Melekyaton*, *C.I.S.*, i, 11), and if we have in him the father of Bodaštart we can fill out a gap in the dynasty of Ešmunazar. The succession as arranged by M. Berger in his *Mémoire* is as follows:—



If our *Šadukyaton* was the father of *Bodaštart* we have the place of X filled. But it is conceivable that the Ešmunazar mentioned in the inscription is the second of that name, and in that case we should have the succession as follows:—



But it is difficult to find space for such a dynasty any time subsequent to the days of Nebuchadrezzar so as to accord with the known facts in the history of Phœnicia. We must await further light before definitely assigning the chronological position of these kings.

THE IMMOVABLE EAST.

By PHILIP G. BALDENSPERGER, Esq.

(Continued from p. 170.)

(*q*) THE carpenter or joiner (*najjâr*) in a country which, like Palestine, has not enough wood for big constructions, is called upon to make small articles only—doors, windows, cradles, low tables, small chairs, chests for the women, and the like. The short Caramanian boards of *Katrânî* wood used to be imported from Asia Minor by Mersina. Now long, broad boards are imported from Trieste, Marseilles, and Sweden; they are usually a softer wood than the Caramanian. Wood in general is called *khašab*; ‘*aṣaḥ*’ (عصا) “the stick,” is the only trace of the Hebrew ‘*ēṣ*, which is used for wood in general. Wood in small twigs or small branches is called *ḥuṭab*; from the same root is derived the “hewers of wood” (*ḥôtēbē ‘ēṣim*) of Jeremiah (xlii, 22). A board is called *lōḥ*, with which we may compare the Hebrew *lūaḥ*—*e.g.*, Cant. viii, 9 (“a board of cedar”).

To the Arabian joiner the most indispensable tool is the adze, which is called *ḡaddām* in Palestine, but in Egypt *mukshut*. This instrument was used before the introduction of the European plane, which is called *fārat*.¹ The soft European wood cannot be so easily smoothed with the plane as with the adze. The saw is called *manṣhar*, the Hebrew term being *massôr* (Isaiah x, 15). The awl is a very different instrument to the European one; it is called variously *mekḏah* and *burimet* in Palestine, and *mithkâb* or *kharbar* in Egypt. The handle resembles a whip, the leather strap of which is twisted once round the movable wooden handle of the iron borer, and the *fidullîng*, so to speak, drives the borer into the wood.² The hammer is called *shâkûsh*, *matrakat*, or *medkat*. The *ḡaddām*, however, is mostly used for this purpose.³

¹ The Hebrew term is *maḡšâ'ôth* (in the plural) which occurs only in Isaiah xlii, 13 (E.V. “planes”).

² The Hebrew verb for “to bore” is *nâḳab*—*e.g.*, of a hole in a chest (2 Kings xii, 9 [10]).

³ The chief Hebrew terms are *maḡḡābah* (Jer. x, 4), used also by joiners, stone-masons, and smiths (1 Kings vi, 7; Isaiah xlii, 12); and *paṭṭîsh* (Isaiah xli, 7; Jer. xxiii, 29). [From the former of these words the name “Maccabee” has been frequently, though not perhaps correctly, derived.—ED.]

The pincers are called *kammīshat* or *kalbutain*. They are not mentioned in the Bible, though some translate *māʿaṣīd* (מַעֲסִיד, Isaiah xliv, 12) by "tongs"; the word, perhaps, means rather a vice. The vice is called *mekbas* or *mekzumet*, and is employed by both the joiner and the smith.¹ The file (*mebruld*) is naturally a very necessary instrument. It was, doubtless, known to the Israelites, but it is very uncertain whether it is to be found in 1 Sam. xiii, 21. The whole passage is very obscure and difficult. The square is called *ʿāwīet*. The nails now in use are of two kinds: those of home manufacture, *masāmīr balady*, and the European nails, *masāmīr ʿibret*.²

The joiner makes wooden locks and keys, *sukarat* (from a root "to shut"), and *meftīh* (from a root "to open"). The turner and engraver, called *kharrāz*, is sometimes a joiner also, as both work in wood.

(r) The weaver (*ḡāʾik*) is well known, not only in towns but also in the villages, where especially the mantles (*ʿaba*, pl. *ʿaby*) are made and sold to the fellahīn, yet by far the greater number of them are imported, many from Syria; the dark blue ones, called *shālet*, on the other hand, come from Egypt. In the Jewish colony of Jahūdiyeh, in the plains of Sharon, I saw a Russian-Polish Jew who was a weaver of the *ʿaba*. Cotton was also woven in times past, and the strong home-made *khām* was much appreciated, until at length the English calico superseded them in the market of Palestine. The Indian muslin (*baft hindy* or *shāsh*) is generally used for the turbans of the literati and Imams.

The weaver was indispensable to the Israelites, who wove their own clothes, as strange clothes were forbidden. The weaver Aholiab, of the tribe of Dan (Ex. xxxv, 34, 35), who furnished fine curtains (Ex. xxvi, 1-14) for the tabernacle, must have learned his trade in Egypt. There are several references to weaving in the Bible (Ex. xxxvi, 8; Job vii, 6, &c.).

The merchant, in a general sense, is called *tājir*, but the cloth merchant or draper, who sells mantles, all kinds of calico, muslin, cloth, velvet, &c., exclusively, is called *khawwāja*—the word commonly employed before a name, and now equivalent to "Mr."

¹ The Hebrew in Isaiah xliv, 12 (*see above*) might mean, therefore, the iron in the vice; and in Jer. x, 3, the preposition could equally well be rendered by "in" and not "with."

² Cf. the Hebrew term *masmēreth* (1 Chron. xxii, 3).

This has not always been so, the real honorary title being *Sayid* (*Sa'id*) in cases where there is no other already in existence. *Khawāja* was applied to any one who was well clothed and of independent means, and as the cloth merchant has little to do but to sit on his elevated seat and handle stuff, the name passed over to Europeans and to the Arab Christians, and is now in use everywhere; Effendi being more commonly reserved for Moslems and government *employés*.

(s) The oil and soap manufacturers (*ṣabbān* and *ṣawābīnī*) always carry on their trade in one huge building, which is to be found in all Palestinian towns. Inside the building are immense cisterns to receive the oil, and stables to hold many animals are behind the oil presses. There is but one exit, the great gate, behind which the master of the establishment squats before an iron safe, controlling the movements and the going in and coming out of his establishment. Oil is brought from the surrounding villages, and as the distance may be too far to go home again the same day, the men and animals have free lodgings in the establishment. Everyone who has visited or lived at Jerusalem knows the immense ash-hills north of the city, near the tombs of Queen Helene ("tombs of the Kings"), the refuse of the ancient soap factories. At the present day the industry flourishes more particularly in such olive-grown centres as Gaza, Lydda, Ramleh, and especially Nâblus. The owners are very rich, some even are reputed millionaires. Second-class oil—that is, oil which has been lying in the olive mills for months on the floor in the olives waiting to be pressed, or simply the badly-pressed refuse of olives—is used in the manufacture of soap. The owners are not always to be recognised, as they often appear in workmen's dress, and sleep at night by the gate guarding the safe in which is stored their wealth. All kinds of gold and silver coins are hoarded: English, French, Russian, and Turkish pounds, "each after its kind," as well as the Medjidies and other Turkish silver money.

It is in the olive regions that the wealthiest people are generally to be found; they are not so much farmers as manufacturers. They have a bad name for their avarice, perhaps wrongly, for it is hard to tell the difference between a miser and one who economises earnestly. It is related that a rich Nâblus oil merchant found a dead mouse in his oil cistern one day; unfortunately it was seen by others, and the oil accordingly declared unclean; as

the case was being brought before the judge, the owner quickly swallowed the mouse, and no proof being forthcoming, he denied having seen a mouse, and thus saved hundreds of measures of oil, which, according to Mohammedan law, would have been unclean.

An equally miserly Christian soap manufacturer and money-lender of Ramleh—so the story goes—was out in a village collecting money some time back in the seventies of the eighteenth century. To get rid of him the wily fellahin accused him of having “cursed the religion.” In those days this crime was considered as deserving capital punishment. He was arrested and brought to Jerusalem, tried, and found guilty—thanks to the slyness of an official who had received a present—of having cursed the religion of the fellahin only. He was therefore condemned to three years’ banishment at Aleppo. “Cursing the religion” led to many judicial errors and abuses—for how could a Christian accused by a Mohammedan prove his innocence? a believer never lies—accordingly the penalty has had to be revised, and it is no longer considered a capital crime.

Oil and soap are exported into Egypt, where olives do not grow to any extent. The oil traffic between Egypt and Tyre has existed since the days of Ezekiel (Ezek. xxvii, 17). In early Israelitish days water—or, in winter, snow—alone was used for washing purposes. In later days, however, nitre and *bôrîth* were employed (Jer. ii, 22; Mal. iii, 2). What was this *bôrîth*? “Soap” (so it is translated) was not known. Either a plant of grey-white appearance, growing on the banks of the Jordan, used by the Bedawin, may be meant, or it is some cleansing mixture. The radical *b-r* means *clean* or *white*, and can thus refer to some *white* plant or any *clean* thing.

(1) The *mukâri*, also called *baghghâl*, is both owner and driver of horses and mules, and is a useful personage who in time past was quite indispensable to travellers in the East before the carriage roads were made. The inhabitants of Neby Dâûd, just outside the Gate of Zion, were formerly the *mukâris* of Jerusalem, but they have long ago ceased to be exclusively muleteers. In a caravan the *mukâri* is responsible for the food and lodging of the animals which are under his charge. Jaffa has also a considerable number of *mukâris*, and Ramleh and Lydd are essentially *mukâri* towns, though not for the conveyance of travellers, but of luggage and vegetables, which the Jerusalem *mukâris* never carry. Nowadays these *mukâris* are less frequently employed, except for long journeys, beyond Jordan,

south of Hebron, or north of Jerusalem. The German settlers run their carriages along the sea front from Gaza to Haifa on tracks in the sand, whilst inland the roads through the rocky and mountainous country are more difficult, and in spite of the great danger of the journey, are becoming more and more popular. The roads are very bad and the carriages high, so that they abound with broken carriages and unfortunate travellers, yet no modern traveller now hesitates to travel by this unsafe way. Fatalism finds its way everywhere.

The Armenian and North Syrian pilgrims, who formerly came to Jerusalem mounted on huge mules through the land from north to south, now all embark at the ports of Alexandretta and Lâdikîyeh (Laodicea), and the picturesque caravans with the suggestive tinkling of bells have disappeared. The pilgrimage of 15-20 days has now been reduced to a mere nothing—a day or two to the nearest harbour, a night or so in the steamer to Jaffa, and a few hours by rail to Jerusalem are sufficient to obtain the title of Haj (حج), which the Christians of the north, also, receive after a Jerusalem pilgrimage.

The vegetable *mukâri* barely earns enough for himself and his mule or donkey—for he rarely has more than one. About half a mejîdi (= two shillings) for a load from Ramleh to Jerusalem is all he receives, and this entails a journey of 90 miles there and back, which he generally accomplishes in 24 hours. He rarely finds a load to take back with him, as Jerusalem exports are few and far between, and are generally sent by camel direct to Jaffa.

The *mukâris* of Ramleh and Lydd merit the palm of ignorance and stubbornness of all the inhabitants of Palestine—they can hardly calculate beyond their own immediate wants and those of their donkey, in whose company they pass almost all their lives. Ophthalmia has its seat in those towns, and at least 90 per cent. of the *mukâris* have defective eyesight. They are far removed from the bright, picturesque *mukâris* of bygone days, which are so fast disappearing now. These wore a short embroidered jacket, with long sleeves dangling over the arms, which were slit open on the lower side, and only covered the arms when hanging along the body. Their broad breeches and gaiters reached to the knees, and were all of the same thick coarse woollen cloth with black embroidery. Red shoes, a small woollen cap of the same pale yellow colour as the rest of his garb, and a tight turban completed

the sum and total of his dress. They resembled, but for the bright colours, the "kawasses" of the Consulates in the East.

(u) The public crier receives different names according to the nature of his business. Thus, he may be simply *munâdi* or *munâbil* (منبأ), when he advertises anything or announces the loss of an object or an animal; or *dallâl* or *zâ'id* (زايد), when acting as auctioneer. The *munâdi* is employed by anyone who wishes to make known some announcement, but a beshlik or so must be paid to the police before proceeding further. A man may have lost his grey donkey and will tell the crier to call it out. The announcement is as follows: "O good people, who pray to Mohammed, who has seen a green (grey) donkey?" (*Yâ nâs el-halâl. Yâ mâ taṣallâ 'alla Mohammed. Min shâf ḥmâr akhdâr?*) Then follow particulars, cut ears, pack-saddle, &c., ending up with: "The reward is a quarter of a mejîdi and a piece of soap." (*Walḥalawân rubé' mejîdi wa falaḥat ṣabôny.*) This is repeated in different quarters of the town, especially where public gatherings are numerous, until the missing object is found, or an address is given where it is to be returned.

The public crier was known in Israel, when news had to be made known. The *kôrê* (קורע) was called upon to announce it either by the voice alone (Jer. ii, 2; Isaiah xl, 6, 9), or with a trumpet to gather the people before making known the tidings (Jer. iv, 5). So in the South of France the public crier summons people with the trumpet before he reads.

The *dallâl* (auctioneer) carries the object high in his hands so that everyone may see it, and walks up and down the street, calling out the offer anyone may have made. This practice may have been introduced by the Spanish Jews, for instead of using the Arabic words for the first, second, and third bid, he says *una*, '*ala una* (one), '*ala due* (two), and '*ala tre* (three). Animals for sale by auction are also led up and down the street, and their qualities praised, and so forth. Mohammedans or Christians are sometimes employed, though the auctioneer is more often one of the Sephardim Jews.

(v) The cotton-carder (*ḥalbij*) is generally an Algerian Jew, who carries about with him his big bow and wooden mallet to card the cotton and to make old covers, in which art he is a past master. The covers are very thick, stuffed with cotton between two pieces of white calico for the lower part, and print of very bright colours for

the upper part. This is called *leháf*, and is to be kept distinct from the thin and simple grey wool blanket (*herâm*). The thick *leháf* is perhaps similar to that used by Jael, Heber's wife, to cover the fugitive Sisera when he came to her tent (Judges iv, 18, *sēmikáh*). The grey blankets take their name from their being taken to Mecca and used in the religious rites (*iḥrâm*). If the Hebrew *marbad* (Prov. vii, 16; xxx, 22) may be derived from its grey colour (Ar. بَدَ), it is possible that the Israelite women wore such garments in their homes. The carders have also shops where the cotton, white as snow, may be seen piled up in huge baskets, ready for sale. The carder also goes calling round at the houses, cards the cotton in the courtyard, and makes the fresh covers in a very short time.

(*w*) The *ṭarbûsh*-ironer (*kawî*) has a small shop and several irons (*kâleb*), always ready on the fire to iron the red caps of Turkish introduction. The more conservative shopkeepers and workmen have not as yet adopted the elegant Turkish cap, but hold fast to the old round form which is known as Tunisian and never needs ironing. The Turkish *ṭarbûsh* is worn by all civil and military officials as well as by native Christians. With this cap there is a graceful black silk tassel with woven separate threads, which it is fashionable to lengthen or shorten, according to the wearer's fancy, so that it may either be seen dangling wildly, or hanging quietly down the side of the cap. Most turban wearers, however, have kept the old style of North African *ṭarbûsh* with its fleecy blue silken tassel, but some have substituted the Turkish cap, and elegantly wind a snowy white muslin turban of reduced dimensions round the head. The Armenians, who till lately had not the right to wear the red *ṭarbûsh* (on account of its being a sacred colour) but had a black one without tassel, have now also adopted "everybody's" style, so a man's nationality is no longer so easily distinguished by his outward appearance. Strange clothing (*cf.* Zeph. i, 8) was never in favour, and, with the exception of Beirût, Jerusalem and Jaffa are the most progressive towns of Syria. The ironer is generally a seller of tobacco also, though since it has become a monopoly only tobacconists are now allowed to sell it. Formerly the tobacco, *tutun* (the Turkish name) was hung up in strings, and cut fine or coarse, according to the taste of the buyer, on the cutting machine; but now that it is put up in packets these machines are forbidden—at least openly.

Tobacco is more generally known amongst the people as *dukhân*; i.e., smoke. There are different kinds of native tobacco: the *balady*, the *hassanbaki*, introduced by Hassan Bek; the *Abû Riha*, odoriferous, "father of smell," and so forth. Tobacco is grown in the Philistine towns and villages, and controlled by special employés. The leaves are hung together in long strings and exposed upon the flat house-roofs to dry before they are despatched. All Arabs smoke pipes, and in the towns cigarettes. A considerable trade by smuggling was carried on, therefore, as all Jerusalem gates, except the Jaffa Gate, were shut up by night; the whole space from Tancred's heights to the Zion's Gate, by the Damascus and St. Stephen's Gates, was virtually deserted by night. Fierce contests between Custom House officials and smugglers were carried on in and about the north-east corner of the town, and many curious, sometimes tragic, scenes happened. A renowned smuggler called on an official known for his zeal, and offered to show him a party of smugglers at work, provided he agreed to come alone, and then seize them at leisure. The bargain was accepted, a spot on the eastern wall indicated, and official and smuggler proceeded thither. The smuggler hailed his comrade in the dark night, and invited the official, who had kept silent, to descend by a rope. The latter agreed. Accordingly he let him down, but when he was halfway he said, "Now you are safe, you can see how we draw up the sacks of tobacco," thus faithfully keeping his promise to show him how they worked. When the operation was ended, the smugglers quietly trotted off with their wares, leaving the unfortunate official to meditate on the trustworthiness of smugglers. The official was rescued next day by the soldiers of St. Stephen's, who were informed by passers-by of what had happened. Pursuit of the smugglers was without avail. "I have neither seen nor heard" was the impudent answer to all inquiries.

Tobacco thieves in the plains have conceived an ingenious plan of stealing the long strings of leaves from the house-tops. The *hardûn*, the well-known Palestine stellio-lizard, has very long claws and a hard scaly tail, and the thieves accordingly take several *hardûns* and bind a long thread to their tails and throw this strange fishing-tackle near the tobacco. The frightened lizard clutches wildly at the plants and the thief pulls all to him, thus noiselessly possessing himself of the desired weed, and goes off without awaking the owner. In this manner does the lizard unconsciously become the thief's helpmate.

Snuff (*sa'ul*) (سعود) is also sold and indulged in by all classes, especially elderly men and women, who also smoke the *arghileh*.¹ The *tonbak*, or Persian tobacco, for the *arghileh* is sold in large yellow-brown leaves, and is crushed and rubbed in an iron sieve in the presence of the buyer. The *tonbak* is carried about by *arghileh* smokers, and for five or ten paras the pipes in the coffee-houses are filled and loaned. Cigars of European make, though also sold by tobacconists, have not found much favour with the Arabs, who prefer the small cigarette, *sikâra* (سيكارا). Everyone knows how rich the Arabic language is in the most polite expressions. A smoker may offer his tobacco pouch with the word *deffâdal* (تفضل): "Do me the favour." After making the cigarette, the receiver will say *'âmer* (عامر), "may it flourish" (*i.e.*, have always tobacco to offer), whereupon the giver will say *min khêrak* (من خيرك), "from your property, or liberality." The other will again answer, *khêr allah* (خير الله), "God's goods," and so forth. Then he will offer him a light and say *yekhfik sharha* (يخفيك شرها), "may you be concealed from its (the fire's) evil," and the other replies *walâ takassî harha* (ولا تقاسى حرها), "neither may you tell (know) about its heat."

(*To be continued.*)

THE SITE OF THE CHURCH OF ST. MARY AT JERUSALEM, BUILT BY THE EMPEROR JUSTINIAN.

By Colonel C. M. WATSON, C.B., C.M.G., R.E.

(*Continued from p. 257.*)

WE now come to the period when the great Basilica of St. Mary was erected at Jerusalem by the Emperor Justinian in the first half of the sixth century. As I have already remarked, the idea of building this church was not due to the Emperor. It was suggested to him by St. Saba, one of the most renowned ecclesiastics of Palestine, whose name has been preserved in the title of the well-known monastery of Mar Saba, which stands on the road from

¹ See *Quarterly Statement*, p. 70.

Bethlehem to the Dead Sea. In the life of St. Saba, written by Cyril of Scythopolis, we are informed¹ that in an interview which he had with the Emperor Justinian he begged the latter to establish a hospital in the Holy City for the nursing of sick strangers, and to build and adorn the new Church of St. Mary, which had already been commenced by the Archbishop Elias. The result of this petition to the Emperor is given by Cyril in the following words:—“Moreover, in accordance with the holy old man’s third request he (*i.e.*, Justinian) founded a hospital in the midst of Jerusalem. It contained at first 100 beds, and he set apart for it a clear annual revenue of 1,850 pieces of gold. Afterwards he ordered that the hospital should contain 200 beds, and added as much more clear and inalienable revenue thereto. He also most zealously fulfilled the old man’s fourth request, and sent to Jerusalem one Theodorus, an engineer, to the end that he might build the new church of the Holy Mother of God, the ever-Virgin Mary; and he gave orders to the farmers of the revenue in Palestine to provide money for the building. He gave supreme authority over the matter to the Archbishop Peter, but ordered Barachus, the Bishop of Bacatha, to overlook the work of building. Thus, through much zeal and many hands the new church of the Holy Virgin was in 12 years built and fitted with all due ornament. It is needless to dilate upon the size of this holy temple, its radiant glory, and its costly ornament, seeing that it is present before our eyes, and excels all the ancient spectacles and wonders which man used to admire of old, and of which the Greeks have told us in their histories.”

This interesting account of the building of St. Mary’s Church does not help much as regards fixing its site. The only hint that is given is that the hospital was in the midst of Jerusalem, which would certainly seem to imply that it was inside the city walls.

The next and fullest account of the Church of St. Mary is that given by Procopius, which I have already quoted (*see* p. 250 *sqq.*). I have also shown that although the site cannot be definitely fixed from his description, yet it applies better to Mount Sion than to the Temple area.

In a tract, entitled the “Breviary of Jerusalem,” there is a description of the holy places. The date is not certain, but it must have been written about the time of the Emperor Justinian. In this work the account of the buildings on Mount Sion is as follows²:—

¹ *Palestine Pilgrims’ Texts*, vol. xi. “St. Saba,” p. 18.

² *Ibid.*, vol. ii. The “Breviary,” p. 16.

“Thence you go to a very great basilica on the holy Sion, wherein is the column at which the Lord Jesus was scourged. One may see there the print of His hands as He held it, marked as deep as though the stone were wax. Thence you come to the place of sacrifice, where is the stone with which St. Stephen was stoned. In the midst of this church is the crown of thorns which Jesus received. And there is the lamp (by the light of which) He taught His disciples after He had supped. There is the rod (with which He was scourged) enclosed within a column of silver. Thence you go to the house of Caiaphas, where St. Peter denied; where there is a large church dedicated to St. Peter. Thence you go to the house of Pilate, where he delivered over the Lord to the Jews after He had been scourged; where there is a large basilica, and in it there is a chamber which is where they stripped Him and He was scourged; it is called St. Sophia.”

If there had been a great basilica built or building in the Temple area at the time the “Breviary” was written, it is difficult to understand why it was not mentioned. Whereas, on the other hand, if the basilica of Justinian was on Mount Sion, the explanation is simple.

The next author from whom I shall quote is Antoninus Martyr, who visited Jerusalem about A.D. 570. His story was evidently written from memory and is not quite clear, but it gives much useful information. It is interesting to note how the number of relics shown on Mount Sion was steadily increasing. He wrote as follows¹:—

“Thence we come to the Basilica of the Holy Sion, where are many wonders, amongst which is the corner-stone mentioned in Scripture, which was rejected by the builders. When the Lord Jesus Christ entered that church, which was then the house of St. James, He found that shapeless stone lying in the midst; He lifted it up and placed it upon the corner. You take this stone and lift it in your hands, and place your ear upon the corner itself, and there will be a sound in your ears like the voices of many men. In that very church is the pillar upon which our Lord was scourged, upon which pillar is the following mark: when He embraced it His breath imprinted itself upon the very stone; and His two hands, with both their palms and fingers, are to be seen upon the stone, so that a measure is taken from thence for various

¹ *Palestine Pilgrims' Texts*, vol. ii. “Antoninus Martyr,” p. 18.

weaknesses, and those who wear it round their neck are healed. Upon the pillar itself is the horn with which the kings and David were anointed. There is likewise the crown of thorns with which our Lord was crowned, and the spear which was thrust into His side, and many stones with which Stephen was stoned. There is also a pillar upon which the cross of the blessed Peter, upon which he was crucified at Rome, was placed. There, too, is the chalice of the apostles, with which, after our Lord's resurrection, they used to celebrate mass, and many other relics which I have forgotten. There is a convent of maidens, and there I saw a human skull enclosed in a golden case, adorned with precious stones, which they say is that of the martyr Theodota, from which many drink water for a blessing, and I drank.

"From Sion we came to the Basilica of the Blessed Mary, where there is a large congregation of monks, and where are also hospices (for strangers, both) for men and women. There I was received as a pilgrim; there were countless tables, and more than 3,000 beds for sick persons. We prayed in the Prætorium, where the Lord was tried, which is now the Basilica of St. Sophia. In front of the ruins of the Temple of Solomon, under the street, water runs down to the fountain of Siloam. Near the porch of Solomon, in the church itself, is the seat upon which Pilate sat when he tried our Lord. There, also, is a square stone, which used to stand in the midst of the Prætorium, upon which the accused was placed during his trial, that he might be heard and seen by all the people. Upon it our Lord was placed when He was tried by Pilate, and there the marks of his feet still remain."

There can, I think, be little doubt that the Church of St. Mary, here described, with the hospice and hospital, was the basilica built by Justinian. It will be observed that the church is mentioned in connection with the Prætorium and Church of St. Sophia, which, as I have already pointed out, were most probably on Mount Sion. The remark as to the water flowing down to Siloam reads as if it were made by an observer, looking from Mount Sion across the valley to the site of the old Temple. If, on the contrary, Antoninus had been describing a church close to the Temple, he would have worded the description differently.

Not long after Antoninus Martyr visited the holy places a bad time came for Jerusalem. In A.D. 614 Chosroes, the King of Persia, invaded Syria and captured Jerusalem, massacring a great

number of the inhabitants. In the Annals of Eutychius the event is described as follows¹ :—

“Now when he (*i.e.*, Chosroes) came to Jerusalem, first of all he destroyed the Church of Gethsemane and also the Church of Helena, both of which remain in ruins to this day. He also destroyed the Churches of Constantine, that of Golgotha and of the Holy Sepulchre ; he set Golgotha and the Holy Sepulchre on fire, and destroyed the greater part of the city as well, while the Persians and Jews together slew innumerable Christians. These are the corpses which lie in the place at Jerusalem called Mamela. After the Persians had burned, wasted, and slain, they went away, leading captive Zacharias, the Patriarch of Jerusalem, together with many others.”

In this account there is no mention made of the Churches of St. Mary and of Sion, so that it is not possible to say how far they were destroyed by Chosroes.

The churches round the Holy Sepulchre were restored by the Abbot Modestus, who was made Patriarch by the Emperor Heraclius when he visited Jerusalem after defeating the Persians. In A.D. 636 Heraclius in his turn was overcome by the Mohamedans, who conquered Syria. In A.D. 637 Jerusalem capitulated to the Caliph Omar, who treated the Christians with leniency and left them their churches, while taking for the Mohamedans the site of the Temple and surrounding area. In the account of the taking of Jerusalem by Eutychius² there is no trace of there being a church in the vicinity of the Temple, and it is difficult to understand why no mention should have been made of the Church of St. Mary if it had been, as generally supposed, on the south side of the Haram area.

The first account by a Christian pilgrim after the taking of Jerusalem by the Mohamedans is that of Bishop Arculfus, who visited the Holy Land about A.D. 670, and after his return dictated an account of his recollections. At that time the Dome of the Rock had not yet been built on the site of the Temple, and the information he gives as to the Temple area is as follows³ :—

“But in that renowned place, where once the Temple had been magnificently constructed, placed in the neighbourhood of the wall

¹ *Palestine Pilgrims' Texts*, vol. xi. “Eutychius,” p. 36.

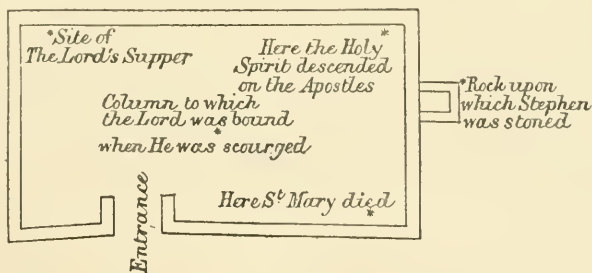
² *Ibid.*, vol. xi. “Eutychius,” p. 66.

³ *Ibid.*, vol. iii. “Arculfus,” p. 4.

from the east, the Saracens now frequent a four-sided house of prayer, which they have built rudely, constructing it by raising boards and great beams on some remains of ruins; this house can, it is said, hold 3,000 men at once."

Now, if the Church of St. Mary had been in the vicinity, it seems likely that the Saracens would have used it, and not built a temporary wooden mosque, as it is most improbable that the church so magnificently built by Justinian could have been reduced to "some remains of ruins" during the very short stay of the Persians in Jerusalem. The ruins are more likely to have been some remains of the royal cloister of Herod's Temple. Arculfus gives a short account of Mount Sion in the following words¹:—

"Mention was made of Mount Sion a little above, and here a short and succinct notice must be inserted of a great basilica constructed here, a drawing of which is given below.



"Here is shown the rock upon which Stephen, being stoned without the city, fell asleep. Beyond the great church described above, which embraces within its walls such holy places, there stands another memorable rock, on the west side of that on which, as is said, St. Stephen was stoned. This apostolical church was built of stone on a level surface on the higher ground of Mount Sion."

In another MS. of Arculfus this paragraph reads as follows:—

"After this the sainted Arculfus writes of that place where the Lord supped with His disciples, and where the Holy Ghost descended upon the apostles on the holy day of Pentecost, where he says that a great church has been constructed on the top of Mount Sion, which is called the Apostles' Church. There is also seen

¹ *Palestine Pilgrims' Texts*, vol. iii. "Arculfus," p. 20.

the column where the Lord was scourged, and there is also shown there the rock on which St. Stephen was stoned ; to the west there is another church where the Lord was tried in the Prætorium of Pilate."

This is a very important account, as it confirms the idea that the traditional site of the Prætorium was on Sion, and thus adds to the probability that Antoninus Martyr meant to describe the great Church of St. Mary as being on Sion ; and it also gives the reason for a church in honour of St. Mary being built on Sion, as being the traditional place of her death. This is confirmed by Bishop Willibald, who made the pilgrimage about A.D. 754, as he says¹:—

"Holy Mary departed out of the world in that place in the midst of Jerusalem which is called holy Sion." The same statement is repeated by other pilgrims.²

This is not the place to recapitulate the history of Jerusalem ; suffice it to say that after suffering various tribulations it was captured by the Crusaders in A.D. 1099, and remained in the power of the Christians until A.D. 1187. The accounts of pilgrims giving descriptions of the holy places naturally become very numerous, and it would be impossible to quote all of them. During the Christian occupation the whole of the Temple area was occupied by the Knights Templars, the Dome of the Rock being called the "Temple of the Lord," and the Mosque of Aksa the "Temple of Solomon." - The latter building was occupied as the residence of the Templars. In the accounts of the pilgrims are full descriptions of those buildings, but I have not been able to trace in any of them a tradition that formerly a great church, such as that of St. Mary, stood within the Temple area.³ If it had ever been there, it is hard to understand how the fact of its existence should have been so completely lost. On the other hand some of the pilgrims state that there *was* a Church of St. Mary on Mount Sion. Take, for example, Theoderich, who wrote about A.D. 1172. In writing of Sion his words are as follow⁴:—

"The Mount Sion, which stands to the southwards, being for the most part without the city walls, contains the church dedicated to

¹ *Palestine Pilgrims' Texts*, vol. iii. "St. Willibald."

² *Ibid.*, vol. iii. "Bernard the Wise," p. 8.

³ *Ibid.*, vol. xi. "Anonymous Pilgrim No. 1," p. 4.

⁴ *Ibid.*, vol. v. "Theoderich," p. 36.

our Lady, St. Mary, which is well fortified with walls, towers, and battlements against the assaults of the infidels, wherein regular monks serve God under an abbot. When you enter it you will find in the middle apse, on the left hand, the holy place whereat our Lord Jesus Christ received the soul of His beloved Mother, our blessed Lady, Mary, and raised it to heaven. This work is square below, and above round, supporting a dome. By about thirty steps on the right hand one mounts into an upper chamber, which is situated in the extremity of the apse. Here may be seen the table at which our Lord supped with His disciples, and, after the departure of the traitor, gave to those disciples His mystical body and blood. In this same upper chamber, at a distance of more than 30 feet to the southward of that place, there stands an altar on the place where the Holy Ghost descended upon the apostles. From hence one descends by as many steps as one ascended, and sees in the chapel beneath the upper chamber the stone basin, built into the wall, wherein the Saviour washed the feet of the apostles in that place; where close by, on the right hand, there stands an altar in the place where Thomas felt the Lord's side after His resurrection, which for this cause is called the Altar of the Finger."

Theoderich then follows the steps of the Lord to the Brook Cedron, to Gethsemane, and back to Sion, when he proceeds with the description of the latter place:—

"After they had mocked Him all night, they brought Him in the morning before Pilate, His judge. After he had asked Him many questions, Pilate caused Him to be brought to the judgment hall in the place which is called the way of a judgment seat, in the place which is called the Pavement, which place is situated in front of the Church of St. Mary, on Mount Sion, in a high place near the city wall. Here is a holy chapel dedicated to our Lord Jesus Christ, wherein stands a great part of the column round which the Lord was bound by Pilate, and ordered to be scourged, after He had been condemned by him to be crucified."

If we compare this description of the Church of St. Mary in the year A.D. 1172 with the accounts given by Arculfus in A.D. 670, and by Antoninus Martyr in A.D. 570, it can hardly be doubted that it is the same, or, at all events, a restoration of the same, church, which can thus be traced back to the time of the Emperor Justinian.

After the expulsion of the Christians from Jerusalem, the Church of St. Mary on Mount Sion appears to have fallen into decay.

Ludolph von Suchem, who wrote about A.D. 1350, says¹ :—

“Upon this Mount Sion, or in this city of David, there once was built an exceeding fair monastery called the Convent of St. Mary on Mount Sion. Within this monastery were enclosed all the following holy places.”

He then enumerates the various holy places which have already been described as in and near the Church of St. Mary. In the following century Felix Fabri visited the Holy Land in A.D. 1480–1483, and has left a very full and interesting account of his travels. He lived for a considerable time with the monks on Mount Sion and gives a clear account of the ruined condition of the church.² He says :—

“The church is not large, because it is only a part of the Church of Sion. In the old time, when the Christians bore rule in the land, there was a great church on that spot, which the Saracens have destroyed as far as the apse or chapel which joined the choir of the church on the right hand side. This part is now the choir and church of the brethren. The ruins of the old choir and church are still plainly to be seen.”

And in another place he says :—

“In this place we stood for a good while, and mourned over the ruins, and looked round us with sorrow at the scattered stones of the sanctuary. Here once stood an exceeding great church whereof there is nothing left save the part which once joined that great church on the right-hand side, which part at the present day is the choir and church of the brethren as I said before ; the head of the choir also remains, with its east window, and with its half-broken vault which threatens to fall in. On the inside of the church there is a way up some stairs from the place where the Holy Spirit was sent down to the top of that piece of broken vault. I went up these stairs and found above the broken vault a pavement of polished marble of divers colours, wherefore I suppose that there was once another church up above, on the top of the church and choir. Thus the Church of Sion must have had three consecrated stories, that is to say, the crypt beneath the earth, the

¹ *Palestine Pilgrims' Texts*, vol. xii. “Ludolph von Suchem,” p. 101.

² *Ibid.*, vol. vii. “Felix Fabri,” p. 287.

church built upon the earth, and another decorated chamber above the church. In the old choir, the high altar still stands, but it is a ruin."

In A.D. 1517 Jerusalem fell into the hands of the Turks, and in A.D. 1547 the Mohamedans took possession of the Christian buildings on Mount Sion, and since that time access to them has been difficult. It would be interesting to make a thorough examination of the place in order to see what remains of the great church still exist, and it would also be desirable to excavate the ground to the east and search for the ancient foundations. I do not know, however, if this would be possible, as the buildings are surrounded by cemeteries.

To sum up, the conclusions at which I have arrived are as follow :—

- (1) It seems improbable that the Basilica of St. Mary, built by Justinian, was in the vicinity of the Temple, or that there was any Christian church in the Haram area prior to the occupation of Jerusalem by the Crusaders in A.D. 1099.
- (2) It is probable that the basilica of Justinian was constructed on Mount Sion on or near the site of the existing buildings, usually known as the Cœnaculum and Tomb of David.

THE LEVELLING OF THE AKRA.

By Rev. W. F. BIRCH.

SIMON's expulsion of the enemy from the Akra (1 Macc. xiii, 50) developed in the fertile brain of Josephus into the herculean labour of a three years' demolition of fort, hill, and all.

Jahn long ago observed that the expressions in Maccabees are entirely at variance with the story of Josephus, adding that it probably originated in a mistake.

This "cock and bull" has brought a cycle of mischief upon Jerusalem research, but it is only fair, by putting a finger on the initial error, to show that the mistake of the Jewish historian was more his misfortune than fault.

Josephus in his day (*Quarterly Statement*, 1886, p. 26) certainly found that the term Akra was assigned to the sloping ridge (now called ed-Dhahr, *i.e.*, back) south of the temple, with no visible

ditch or valley between the two; and becoming devoted to precipices, he was doubtless amazed that the city of David ever stood on such a paltry hill. Yet 1 Macc. i, 33, left no room for doubt, as it stated distinctly that the city of David became the Akra.

Later, he faithfully (according to Whiston) performed the difficult and painful task of abridging 1 Macc. down to xiii, 50. Here the copy used abruptly ended, leaving him to make the best he could of the situation. This verse says that Simon "cast them (the garrison) thence (*i.e.*, from the Akra) and purified (*εκαθαρισεν*) the Akra from its pollutions" (*μιασματων*). Josephus, however, tells quite a different tale: first, in Wars I, ii, 2, briefly stating that Simon overcame the garrison and rased to the ground (*κατεσκαψε*) the Akra; and afterwards, in Ant. XIII, vi, 7, more copiously adding that he took the Akra, and levelled to the ground both it and the hill on which it stood, with other details. In this account he thrice uses the same verb for levelling (*καθειλε*, *καθειλεν*, *καθηρον*), but omits all mention of pollutions or purification.

Now, if the imperfect manuscript preserved of *εκαθαρισεν* merely the four letters *καθ . . . ρ* and ended with Akra (*ακραν*), what would follow? The hero of precipices, with no (*μιασματα*) miasmas to guide him, could not be expected out of *καθ . . . ρ* to scent *εκαθαρισεν* or *εκαθαυρε* (purified), in preference to *καθηρει* (levelled). He had to restore the text as best he could. Here he would divine the solution of his difficulty. Did Simon level the Akra? If so, there is a reason for no peak now. Then he would picture to himself the table-rock of Akra, as once crowned by a peak, and so justly entitled to its name. He would be as glad as I was, when its true site became clear to me. Could he, in Ant., use *levelled* less than thrice? As a lover of strong positions, Josephus seems, in Wars V, iv, 1, to intend to locate the Jebusite stronghold of Zion on the lofty (S.W.) hill, when he writes: "David called that hill the *φρουριον*" (= Heb. Metsudah?); but subsequently, in the account of David's capturing it, he used the LXX, and accepted the Akra (the hill south of the future temple) as the site of that stronghold. Soon he was face to face with the following appalling difficulty: First, he found that the Bible stated more than 20 times that king after king (from David to Ahaz) was buried in the city of David; next he knew from 1 Macc. i, 33, that the city of David became the Akra; thirdly, from personal observation he was sure that Herod's white monument, erected at (or over) the entrance to David's tomb, was

at the siege situate towards the southern end of ed-Dhahr, near Siloam (Neh. iii, 16); while, finally, he had long assimilated the fiction that the Akra fort and hill had been wholly removed.

It was obvious that the royal sepulchres could not be in existence in a hill that had long before ceased to exist. Therefore all of these four articles of belief could not then be true. Accordingly, although the Bible said that David "called it (the fort) the city of David" (2 Sam. v, 9), Josephus twice in one passage (Ant. VII, iii, 2) wrote: "David named Jerusalem the city of David." By this perversion or prevarication he sacrificed the valuable precision of the sacred record, and brought vexation on posterity to save his own credit.

THE TRADITIONAL "HARBOUR OF SOLOMON" AT JAFFA.

By the Rev. J. E. HANAUER, Jerusalem.

To supplement my remarks on the traditional harbour of Solomon at Jaffa (*see Quarterly Statement*, July, 1903, pp. 258-264), I may observe that I inadvertently omitted to give chapter and verse for my quotation on p. 263 describing the fortified island existing at Jaffa in 1253. The reference is to Bohn's edition of Joinville's memoirs in *Chronicles of the Crusaders*, pp. 486, 495 sq.

When I submitted my notes I emphatically remarked that I did so "pending the time when more expert investigators and the results of excavation throw more certain light on the matter." As a matter of fact, during the spring such excavations and investigations were carried on under the auspices of the American School of Archæology, and in return for references and information furnished by myself, I have just received from Dr. Barton, late Director of the School, a kind note, written from the British Museum, and dated July 18th, containing the interesting information that at a depth of half a mètre below the present level of soil, and at a height of $4\frac{1}{2}$ mètres (nearly 15 feet) above sea-level, the excavators had re-discovered the wall to which I referred on p. 260.

We must, of course, await the publication of Professor Barton's report for fuller information of details, but I am happy to be able to send the following extract from his letter:—"I am convinced

that the inner harbour was used in the time of Solomon, in the time of Simon the Maccabee, and in the time of Saladin, and that seismic disturbances have changed the level at various times. I believe that Joinville's island was temporarily produced by such a change."

DAJÛN AND BETH-DAGON AND THE TRANSFERENCE OF BIBLICAL PLACE-NAMES.

By R. A. STEWART MACALISTER, M.A., F.S.A.

THE report of the discovery of a find of gold coins in the neighbourhood of the modern village of Beit Dejân led Surraya Effendi and myself to pay a visit to the place. With great difficulty we persuaded an inhabitant of the village to guide us to the site of the discovery—the commendable promptness of the Government in dealing with those who attempted to sell the coins had made the inhabitants of the village cautious in their dealing with strangers.

The site is the ruin known as Dajûn, about $1\frac{3}{4}$ miles south-west of the village. This ruin has for some time been treated by the fellahîn of Beit Dejân as a quarry, and they have been actively engaged in taking stones from it either for their own purposes or for sale in Jaffa. It was whilst these operations were being carried on that the find of coins was made.

Holes have been pitted all over the surface of the site, from which it is possible to get a fair idea of its period. There is not more than 6 feet of débris, and the pottery shows that this is to be assigned to the Roman and early Arab periods. No earlier occupation has left any traces on the site. It follows that Dajûn cannot be the Beth-Dagon of Joshua xv, 41, as has been suggested. On the other hand there is little cause for doubt that it is the connecting link between the biblical Beth-Dagon and the modern village of Beit Dajûn.

It is becoming more and more clear, as our knowledge increases, that the transference of names and sites is an element that must be taken into account in attempting to identify biblical places with their modern representatives. It would, perhaps, be too paradoxical to say that (contrary to the general opinion) the persistence of a biblical name is presumptive evidence *against* the fixity of the site; but it is certain that no identification based on a similarity of name can be accepted unless corroborated by other indications.

No doubt many reasons could be assigned for the transference of a village, with its name, to a new site. For example, if an earthquake ruined the village, stopped its well, and transferred its subterranean source of water supply to an inconvenient distance—not an impossible accident—the villagers would naturally rebuild near the new spring.

Equally naturally the old name would persist, the previous site being distinguished by some adjective meaning "ruined," "ancient," or the like. If (as by theory was the case of Beth-Dagon) at some subsequent time a second transference should take place, there would be every chance that all recollection of the first of the series of sites would be lost. The fellahîn are not historians, and they would have little reason to refer to the old site of their village, and none at all to bear in mind the oldest site: ruins have no interest for them except as potential repositories of buried treasure.

Thus we have three epochs in the history of Beth-Dagon—the first on an as yet unknown site, from the Amorite to the Roman periods; the second at Dajûn, extending over the Roman and early Arab periods; the third at the modern Beit Dejân, lasting to the present day. It is probable that the present population could, had they the necessary documents, show a continuous chain of ancestry extending from the first city to the last.

Nearly similar is the case of Mareshah: but in this instance the name survives at one site only. Joshua xv, 44 attests its existence at the end of the Amorite period. The tomb inscriptions recently discovered connect it with Tell Sandaḥannah; but the result of excavations there forbids us to carry the history of that site back further than the Jewish monarchy or later than the Seleucid epoch. The name survives at Khurbet Mer'ash, which is a purely Roman site, and probably the modern descendants of the inhabitants live at Beit Jibrîn. Here, therefore, we have four transferences. The unfortunate influence of the Crusaders, by fitting a new name on the tell, has spoiled the links of names: I have little doubt that were it not for the Crusaders' occupation the tell would be called by some such name as Tell Mer'ash.

Ekron is another notable example. Its identity with 'Aḳir is assumed by all without question: but it is a common-place with writers on Palestine that at 'Akir there is no tell or other sign of ancient occupation. It follows that it is simply impossible that 'Akir can stand on the site of so important a town, though it probably perpetuates its name.

To return to Dajûn, I may remark that the only object calling for notice on the spot is the drum of a column, 2 feet 9 inches in diameter, with mortices cut on each side. Without excavation it is impossible to tell with what this may be connected. A fragment of stone with a bit of acanthus ornament, and a large bead with inlaid coloured dots, were picked up by us.

The usual routine was gone through by the discoverers of the coins. The man who first noticed them endeavoured to distract his companions' attention so that he might be able to return alone and appropriate the whole booty to himself. Apparently he was at first successful in this, but in his anxiety he mistook a chance motion of one of the others for a sign of discovery, and gave himself away by a wild grab at the coins, which he bestowed in the folds of his cloak, and by running at the top of his speed off the ground. The others, finding some pieces which in his

haste he had dropped, divined at once the cause of his flight, and gave chase and captured the fugitive, whom they compelled to distribute his plunder; the division, however, was not sufficiently equal to please one of the party, who gratified his spite by turning "king's evidence," with the result that the government authorities promptly compelled as many of those concerned as could be found to disgorge their shares. It is probable that the majority of the pieces have been recovered, and it is gratifying that Dajûn is now probably safe from further illicit excavation, as the villagers are afraid to be seen near it.

The coins are now stored in the Government Museum at Jerusalem. I have not yet had an opportunity of seeing them, so can only state the fact of which I have been assured—that they are gold Kufic coins. I have been told that they are ascribed to Harûn er-Rashîd. Sixty have been recovered from the hoard.

NOTES AND QUERIES.

Some Interesting Limestone Effigies from Jerusalem.—In Mr. Hanauer's letter of June 27th he mentions that there have been found lately, near "Gordon's Garden Tomb," some small, roughly-carved figures of men on horses, of very elementary form. A photograph which he forwarded, showing these, at once reminded me of some of the old ridge-tile figures of which a few still exist in Cornwall, and possibly elsewhere. In one little town there existed till 20 years ago, at least four: but in the same place I could only find one lately. Some have, I believe, gone to Museums.

A rudely-worked effigy of a man on a horse bestrides one ridge-tile which occupied a prominent position on the roof of an inn, or place where man and horse could be accommodated. Mr. Hanauer thinks that it is quite possible that the figures he describes had a similar use, as they were found on the site of the Crusaders' "Asnerie," in which similar accommodation was provided.

J. D. C.

[Mr. Hanauer's letter describes three limestone effigies: one, the body of a powerful charger, minus head and legs, but with a Norman saddle, and the legs and distinctive foot-gear of a Norman equestrian, identical with illustrations of the Bayeux tapestry, &c. Another is a more mutilated body of a horse; and the third represents a horseman clothed with a cloak or mantle. In the case of the latter, the Maltese cross on the back, between the shoulders, seems to indicate that the effigy was that of a knight hospitaller.]

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